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Edited by

Shaphalya Amatya

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MSL: A Study of Three Corner Complex with Special Reference to the Sherpas of Khumbu and Mt. Everest Expedition

-Dr. Ramesh Raj Kunwar

Mountaineering anthropology is the next important field of Himalayan study. It is important because it studies inter-enthnic relationship in terms of culture exchange, their association with nature, environment, native culture, and nature-man-spirit world of the surrounding area. Most of the Himalayan anthropological works are confined upto 4000m from the view point of fieldwork. But, this does not mean that those anthropologists have not done trek up to 5,400 m (Everest Base Camp). However, mountaineering anthropological work is quite adventurous and dangerous because there is much risk.

In this article the abbreviation of the letters MSL refers to the M (Members)-S (Sherpas)-L (Liaison Officer). These three groups have their own values, functions, concepts, personalities, languages and cultures. An expedition team in Nepal is composed of Members (foreigners), Sirdar, Sherpas, kitchen boy, mailrunner, Liaison Officer and the porters who will be deputed from different organizations. The three groups should have intimate relations in terms of mutual interaction, interdependence, coordination and cooperation all of which finally constitutes a complex. This trio-complex relationship was the subject of the study during my stay (5 months) at Everest Base Camp with many expedition groups (Newzealand, Dutch, Czechoslovakia, Nepal Police cleaning camp in Mt. Everest and Korean in Pumari Himal in autumn season 1984; Korean and French Everest Expedition groups in winter season (1984-85). At that time I was the appointed liaison officer to the Korean Pumari Expedition in autumn season and French Everest Expedition in winter from H. M. G. Ministry of Tourism-Nepal. This study is confined to Khumbu region and the Everest expedition. There were more than 50 climbing Sherpas, 5 liaison officers (Capt. Shailendra Bahadur Khadka, Capt. Jivan Gautam, Capt. Puru Bista, Late Inspector Yogendra Thapa and Inspector Keshab Baral)

and about 75 climbing members who were the sources for this study.

Many experts (Fisher, 1879, 1986; Pradhan 1981; Jefferies, 1982; Bjonnes, 1983; Pawson et al, 1984; Furer-Haimendorf, 1984) have studied the impacts of tourism in the Khumbu region: the changing aspects which have now a days become a stereo-type of research work, particularly in the Khumbu region of Nepal. But no one, except Michael Thompson (1983), has studied the high altitude activities of the Sherpas and their association with nature (the Himalayas) and spirits (supernatural beings), and the inter-relationship between three corner groups in the context of Himalayan expeditions as well as the sociological situation of a Himalayan Base Camp.

I decided, therefore to study the high altitude activities of the Sherpas, their relations with the members and liaison officers; also their mutual interactions among each other, focussing on the Everest Expeditions group in its mountaineering aspect on high Himalayan anthropology. I will apply the concept, "Nature - Man - Spirit Complex", of L. P. Vidhyarthi (1963) under the theme of cultural ecology and functionalism. The basis of this study is direct observations, existing literature and unstructured interviews. I have also tried to document some problems that were created during expeditions. Thus, by realizing them, I have analysed the causes and effects, judging, pros and cons of many situations, events and activities of the native people and other team members. This study is therefore concerned with the culture and environment of the Khumbu region in one aspect and the three corner groups on the other. I hope that this study will be helpful to alpinists, Trekking Agencies, the Government, researchers and the other readers. Though I was a liaison officer to certain groups, this study is carried out not from the perspective of a liaison officer but of a researcher.

Ethno-cultural Distribution of Nepal

Nepal is inhabited by multiple ethnic groups, who tolerate religious differences among each other. The country's total population is approximately 16 million. The lowest part of this country lies at 50 m and the highest part reaches 8,848 m (Sagarmatha). The ethno-cultural distribution of the country consists of four major groups and cultural areas which are as follows: (i) Tibetan Buddhist culture in the Himalayas-Tibetan type of Nepalese people (the Sherpas, Manangis, Lopas, Nyimbas, Jirels and other Bhotias), (ii) Hindu culture in the hilly and plain regions (the Brahmins, Kshatriyas, etc. (iii) Two-layered cultures in vertical level (the Gurungs, Magars, Rais, Limbus, etc) and (iv) Newar culture in Kathmandu Valley. People, as Kawakita (1980. 1-2) writes, under Two-layered cultures, "occupy rugged precipitous mountains and their occupation is based on land cultivation, pastoralism and the forest preservation for hunting, farming (tree leaves are important as fodder) and water preservation." Hindu-Culture is an Orthodox Brhamanism whereas the Himalayan culture is dominated by Tibetan Buddhism as well as spiritism.

When the members are in Kathmandu, they see primarily the Newar culture and urban environment. After leaving Kathmandu for the Himalayan region, they will pass through Hindu culture, two-layered cultures, and finally reach the Himalayan Buddhistic society.

The People and Environment of Khumbu

Nine hours drive along a motor road links Kathmandu to Jiri, via Lamosangu and Charikot. From there it takes seven to eight days with hill porters upto Namche bazar. It takes another seven days with laden yaks or *dzopkyos* including two days rest for acclimatization, to reach Everest Base Camp. This is only a matter if there is no plane service at Lukla. Mostly people have to walk from Jiri during monsoon season. Otherwise there is Twin-Otter (17 seats) daily services from Kathmandu to Lukla, from where it takes nine days by foot, including two days rest, to reach Everest Base Camp.

The Khumbu region lies in the north-eastern part of the country between 27° 45' and 27° 55' N, 86° 50' E, immediately adjacent to the Tibetan border. In the triangle enclosed by the rivers Dudh Koshi and Bhote Koshi are the villages of Namche Bazar (3,440 m), Khumjung (3.243 m), Khunde (3,840m), Sanasa and Tashinga (3,400 m); in the upper Dudh Koshi Valley are Phortse, Pangboche (3,900 m), Feriche (4,243 m), Dingboche (4,412 m), Devuche (3,760 m), Milingo (3,820 m) Tyangboche (3,867 m) and Fungityanga (3,250 m). In the valley Bhote Koshi are Thame (3,800 m), Thamo and Thamote collectively known as Thamichok.

The climate of this region is wet and humid during the monsoon: June-September, and dry and cold during winter, October-March. There is an average of two to four feet of snow mostly during winter.

Khumbu is situated in north Nepal in the Solukhumbu District of the Sagarmatha zone. The entire region above Jorsale comprising approximately 1113 sq. km. or 460 square miles, was declared as National Park in 1976. The park entrance station is at Jorsale. The Park entry fee of 60 Rs. is required of all trekkers but not of expedition members. The park boundary extends north-west from Jorsale to a point just south of Tashilabtsa pass and northward to the border (Nangpa-La) of Tibet. The Nepal-Tibet border marks the Park's northern boundary eastward to the peak pethangtse (6,710 m), thence to Jorsale in a southeasterly direction (Pwason et al, 1984:24). Politically the Khumbu region is divided into two village Panchayats, known as Namche village Panchayat and Khumjung Village Panchayat.

This area is inhabited by the Sherpas, the high altitude-dwellers of the world. Their ancestral homeland is the Kham region of eastern Tibet, 1300 miles from Solukhumbu. They first migrated to Nepal in 1533 A. D. (Oppitz, 1974).

In the beginning and up to 1959, their subsistence was largely dependent on caravan trade with Tibet, oasis cultivation and pastoralism within their settlement area. But in recent years, tourism and international mountaineering have replaced trade with Tibet as a source of cash income (Jefferies, 1984:4). The Sherpas have shown a remarkable adjustment to the changing economic conditions and have monopolized the job market in mountaineering and tourist trekking (Pradhan; 1981). Tourism has brought a new economic wealth to most of the Sherpa households (Fisher, 1979). Today there is high exposure to "modern" ideas, rapid diffusion process through greater mobility and exposure, increasing knowledge about outside life and high expectations for a better "life" (Bjonness 1983 : 267) She further writes that "over the years there have been changes in the socio-cultural pattern and the impact of tourism has changed the power

structure in the society" (Ibid). In general terms, the direct result of increased affluence from tourism has been increased ecological degradation (Jefferies, 1984: 3). If rapid and uncontrolled westernization follows their culture will quickly disappear (Jest, 1981:100). In judging pros and cons of recent developments in Khumbu, one must never forget that two generations ago Sherpa social life was comparable to that of medieval Europe while today, a village such as Namche Bazar resembles in many respects minor tourist resorts in the Austrian or Swiss Alps (Furer-Haimendorf, 1984:114).

Vegetation

Forests in Khumbu range from below Lukla upto tree line (approximately 4000 m), comprising sub-alpine and alpine plant communities. The forest is thin, to some extent it is composed of mainly fir, birch, pine and rhododendron on more inaccessible slopes. The several types of rhododendrons the white flower *R. companulatum*, the yellow *R. campylocarpum*, the purple *R. nivalis* can be seen at about 13000 to 15000 ft. from May to July. Above 3,900 m shrub communities coccur with *pinus*, *excelsa*, and several species of juniper and dwarf rhododendrons such as *R. setosum* and *R. anthropogan*. Much of high altitude vegetation like juniper does not regenerate easily or quickly in such a harsh alpine area: "a Juniper bush may take 60 years to grow to 35 cm above ground level" (Jefferies, 1984: 2). Still up to 4, 800 m some portion of the land is covered by herbaccous plants including grasses and sedges.

Wildlife

The seasonal birds such as the golden Eagle (*Aquila, chrysaetos*), Black-throated Thrush (*Turdus ruficolls*), white-throated Redstart (*Pheonicurus schisticeps*), Rose-breasted Pipit (*Anthus roseatus*, Lammergeir (*Gypaetus barbatus*) and Himalayan Grifion (*Gypshimalayensis*) can be seen in Khumbu occasionally (Fleming, 1978:18). Another important bird is the Danphe, Impeyan Pheasant (*Lophophorus impejanus*), which is found in and around Tashinga, Sanasa and Tyangboche. Similarly, Himalayan Tahr (*Hemitragus jemlahicus*), Musk deer (*Moschus moschiferus*), wolf (*canis lupus*), Barking deer (*Mountaicus muntjak*), Himalayan beer (*Salenarctes sp.*), jackal (*canis aereus*), etc. live in the park.

Mountain Peaks in Khumbu

The Park includes Mt. Everest, the highest peak of the world (8,848 m), Nuptse (7,879 m), Lhotse (8,510 m), Lhotse Shyar (8,383 m), Khumbutse (6,640 m), Lingtrentse 6,608 m) Pumori (7,145 m), Chooyu (8,153 m), Amadablam (6,858 m), Thamserku (6,608 m), Khangtega (6,899 m), Kwangde (6,187 m), Gyachungkhang (7,922 m), Number (6,954 m), and Labuje Peaks (6,110 m; 6,145 m; and 6,169 m), Taboche (6,542 m.) There is one small peak which is known as Khumbu hyulha (5,883 m) located in the middle of Khumbu proper. This is considered a sacred peak and regarded by the Sherpas as their village god. Mt. Everest is known by different names. In Nepali it is called Sagarmatha (head in the sky). In Chinese it was previously called Jolmo Lungma and now they call it Qomolungma. The Tibetans gave it the name Chhomolungma (Goddess Mother of the Earth). However, the most elucidative name is said to be found in Tibetan sacred writings as Mi-ti Cha-pu Long nga which means, 'you can not see the summit from near it, but you can see the summit from nine directions, and a bird which flies as high as the summit goes blind' (Gurung: 1978). The Sherpas call it *Meaalhobsang* considering it as

Mother Goddess' of their community. "For Generations Sherpa mothers have described Mount Everest to their children as a mountain so high no bird can fly over it" (Singh, 1962: 371). In 1852, survey officials determined the exact height of what was shown as peak XV on Survey of Indian maps and were surprised to find that they had discovered the highest peak in the world (Ibid). " . ... and it was only in 1865 that the peak was named Mount Everest after a surveyor General of India" (Gurung: 1968). In 1933 Marcel Kurz applied an apt metaphorical name 'Globe's Third Pole' to the peak (Ibid).

Sherpa Religion

Their religion is completely dominated by the Tibetan Buddhism which is a latter development of Indian Buddhism of the Mahayana sect. Tibetan Buddhism entered into Tibet in seventh century A. D. during the time of Strong-tsan-Gampo (615-650 A. D.). It was Shantarakshita (entry date to Tibet, 743 and 749-762 A. D.) who first preached the new religion (Buddhism) in Tibet. But Padmasamvhava (entry date to Tibet 749-?), is recognised as the founder of Tibetan Buddhism and is religiously known as Guru Rimpoche among the Tibetan Buddhist groups. In Tibetan Buddhism the lama is considered as one of the important figures in their society, thus some Europeans called it, Lamaism. As Stein writes,"This form is often called'Lamaism' from the important part played by the Lama (bla-ma), a term not denoting just any monk, but a person's spiritual master or teacher (guru) alone. We shall find that his role is indeed uncommonly important, even from a doctrinal view point (Stein, 1972: 174).

This religion comprises four major sects which are as follows: *nying-ma-pa*, *ka-gyud-pa*, *sakya-pa*, and *gelug-pa*. Among the different sects, the Sherpas believe in *sang-ngak* subsect of *nying-ma-pa* (unreformed tradition of Tibetan Buddhism) "... ... concentrating on fierce rites of destroying and exorcising demons" (Ortner, 1978: 166). The monuments (gompa, chorten or stupa, mani, prayer-stones, and prayer flags) are also the focal point of their religion. As Jest writes, "The monuments, religious ceremonies and festivals are only the visible portion of a complex web of beliefs and Buddhism Mahayana is part of the most visible and demonstrative aspect" (1985:18). There is close contact between laity groups and the lamas only in socio-religious spheres. Thus lama plays an integral part in the society as he is treated, according to the time and situations, as a ritual master, spiritual teacher (religious specialist), advisor, doctor, medicinal man, foreteller, astrologer, wizard, etc. Among the lamas, the reincarnated lama, *tulku*, is highly respected in their society. "Reincarnation is a form of rebirth consistent with the Karmic view of existence that is central to Tibetan Buddhism. This particular colaboration, called Mahayana Buddhism, holds that men and divinities destined for Buddhahood reject total enlightenment in order to return to the world of sentiment beings and to help other men along the slow path of salvation. In order to do this some take human forms, moving from one body to another in a continual series of predestined rebirths" (Aziz, 1976: 347). Though Gautam Buddha is highly regarded as the supreme god, in every walk of life Guru Rimpoche is invoked for their existence. "*Om Mani Peme Hum*" is their sacred mantra (hymn) which is invoked several times a day. Seclusion is generally spent with the above mentioned mantra either at home or in the monastery. Belife in spirits (Supernatural forces) is also common among the Sherpas. "They give expression to their

belief in the interaction between men and the supernatural powers constituting the Buddhist pantheon" (Furer-Haimendorf, 1684: 96). A village married lama is regarded as their ritual master whereas the unmarried lama of monastery is more respected than the former one. The monastery is another important institution to which Goldstein and Tsarang rightly observe, "Thus while the monastery is a spiritual haven for withdrawal from the temporal world and for renunciation of its materialistic and sensual values, it is simultaneously an instrument for bringing Buddhist ideas and beliefs to that very same temporal world of the lay population" (1985: 15). People generally circumambulate gomba, chorten and mani always from their right side for the purpose of gaining religious merit, *sonam* and *fayen*. These are the general themes of Sherpa Buddhist religion.

Climbing History of the Sherpas

Stan Armington (1979: 21-22) writes: "Sherpas although they lived near the high Himalayan peaks, never set foot on them, except to cross high passes on trade routes, until the British began to introduce the sport of mountaineering." Though they did not consider mountain climbing as sport, they lived in high pasturelands and often crossed over Nangpa-La (5,776 m) a trade route to Tibet, proving that the Sherpas were well adjusted to the Himalayan environment. Their habitual acclimatization made climbing to high altitudes relatively easy. As a result of this they have become some of the most well known alpinists in the world.

The earliest reference to Sherpas in the annals of mountaineering occurs in 1907 when it is recorded that Dr. A. M. Kellas recruited a few Sherpas from Darjeeling to accompany him to the Sikkim Himalayas as high-altitude porters (Kohli and Berghese, 1962: 61.) Ahluwalis also writes: "In 1907, A. M. Kellas introduced the Sherpas to climbing ... ..." (1982: 38). It proves that the whole credit is given to Dr. Kellas for their affiliation with the mountains. It was also 1907 that surveyor Nath Singh visited the Sherpa country to sketch the southern slopes of Sagarmatha (Everest), to make plans for the British to climb from the Nepal side. It was abandoned however in 1909 and the Sherpas first came into prominence in 1921 not only in India but also in Europe, when they were first hired for the reconnaisance of Mt. Everest from the Tibetan side. In those days Everest expeditions started from Darjeeling, India, where a number of Sherpas were living. The Sherpas of Khumbu would also go to Darjeeling searching for jobs. Later, the climbing members were quite impressed with the Sherpa's tremendous strength, selfless devotion to their job, frankness and cheerful appearance. By their profession, they were porters but the team members would not hesitate to consider their valued friends. True virtually every expedition book is full of praises for the Sherpa's fortitude, cheerfulness and dependability; but at the same time there is always something stereo-typed about this handsome expression of of credit (Thompson, 1983: 301). It was Sherpa Chhettan who first acquired the title "Tiger". Chhetan was recruited by General Bruce for the second Everest Expedition in 1922 and served as personal servant to Finch (Kohli and Verghese, 1962:63).

So far as the historicity of the Sherpas in touching their foot on Everest is concerned, Satyal (2041, 15th Kartik: 4) has written on the ground of the book *Everest* by Walt Unsworth

(1981) that it was Rinjin who first climbed *Everest* (not on the top) in 1933, May 12. Before 1949, Nepal was not open to the international climbers. "Ever since the country was opened to climbers in 1949, Nepal Himalayas has become a great theatre of mountaineering activity and their drama of success and failure have provided impetus to more men to meet the ultimate mountains" (Ministry of Tourism, 1984: 1). Till 1984 about 200 Sherpas have completed the Mountaineering School of Manang. Few Sherpas have done advanced courses from Darjeeling, France and other European. Still there are many Sherpas who have not done even a basic course in mountaineering but they still climb. Altogether there are not less than 400 Sherpas who are employed full-time in mountaineering. The Government of Nepal has opened 122 peaks out of 1310 above 6000 feet for the international climbers. There have been about 700 expeditions large and small during the period 1959-1985. Among these, Everest has now been successfully climbed but not conquered or "vanquished" by a total of 175 to 180 men and 5 women from 19 nations (Hawley, 1870; Deep, 1985:32). In the history of Nepalese summiteers, NMA (Nepal Mountaineering Association) records that the first man to reach the summit of Everest was Phudorje on 29th May, 1965 during the third Indian Everest Expedition (Sharma: 1984). Tenzing Norgay Sherpa (summit date 29th May, 1953), however, is unforgetable man in the climbing history of Sherpa Everest summiteers. Till 1985 spring season, there are 27 Sherpas (including Tenzing Norgay) who have conquered Everest. Later on the two new faces - Ang Karma Gurung (Sherpa) and Narayan Shrestha also got the summit of Everest in 1985-autumn season from Tibetan side. Among them Sundare Sherpa, 30, Pangboche has conquered it four times, setting a record not only in the Sherpa climbing history but also in the world history of mountaineering.

Terminology

Now-adays many trekkers and mountaineers get confused with the word Sherpa. They consider that those who involve in trekking agencies are all Sherpas. Actually, there are two similar terms known as 'Sherpa' and 'sherpa'. The first term 'Sherpa' refers to the ethnic group and the other term 'sherpa' refers to the job status of one who carries loads in an expedition, i. e. a high altitude porter or helper to the trekkers and sirdars in trekking. The second term 'sherpa' can be of any ethnic group. In Everest however the job of the sherpa is handled almost entirely by the Sherpas. For example there were very few non-Sherpas who were getting jobs as high altitude porters in the Everest expeditions. There were only three non-Sherpas belonging to the Rai and Gurung community compared to 50 sherpas in 6 to 7 Expeditions. Thus, most of the high altitude porters are of the Sherpa community. In many trekking groups and expeditions, the jobs of the cook, kitchen boy and mailrunner was handled by the Tamangs. No doubt, the Sherpas also handle this job. Those who do not have relatives in trekking agencies bearing a post of sirdar, become porter and those who have relatives or neighbours bearing a post of sirdar, get the job of kitchen boy as their first job in trekking and mountaineering field. Gradually they become cook, sherpa and then finally sirdar. But, to be a sirdar (mountain guide), one should be capable of coordinating the whole situation: finding routes, controlling the staff, assuring the member's security, sincerity towards the rules aud regulations of the

agency, having a minimum knowledge in three R's and arranging the porters etc. His main duty is to please the members by providing good service throughout the trekking or expedition period. Though the sirdar's job is hard one, it is thereafter not difficult to earn money. The cook earns a small salary in comparison to the sirdar. Though his duty is also hard one, but he also can earn some money indirectly. Rest of the others (Sherpas, kitchen boy, mail runners and the porters) get just salary and gifts from the members.

The Sherpas use the term *rongba* for low landers, *acharya* for the people of Tarai due to the uses of *dhoti*, *falbu* for the Newars, *gyagare* for the Indians, *yashyang* for the dhakres or the porters (Rais), *nubripa* for the people of west Nepal, *Pheipa* for the Tibetans, *tyepa* for the upper Tibetans above Lhasa, *mepa* for lower Tibetans below Lhasa. They have special terms for two groups *mik karu* (white eye) for light eyes or blond hair (European or American people) and *mik nakpo* or *songu mi* (black eye) for the government officer or liaison officer or leading staff but non-Sherpa. But in common language they use the term *saheb* for the members, *bada saheb* for the group leader and *kaji saheb* for the liaison officer.

Base Camp Food

The sherpas are very particular about food on the expedition. According to them, if the food is good, climbing is good. If the food is not good it is not possible to climb to high Camps with heavy loads. Whereas it is not possible to arrange special food for individual tastes, it is possible to arrange local food which is available in Khumbu. Dal Bhat and vegetable curry is common among Nepali groups including the liaison officer. During my stay, many liaison officers did not like to eat European foods regularly. But they also do not like to complain about their food problem to the members which is a characteristic of Nepalese culture. If there is plenty of rice-dal, vegetable curry, the liaison officer too will be very happy. So far as yak steak is concerned, that is very popular in Khumbu and and there is a high demand among the trekkers and expedition members. While it is illegal to kill cattle, meat can be eaten from animals which have died from natural causes and in fact beef is more commonly eaten than expensive mutton or chicken (Lang and Lang, 1970: 5). The majority of liaison officers do not take Yak steak which is not their cultural food. So, naturally they hesitate to eat other foods with Yak steak. At that time if the cook did not prepare alternative food for him, he will be hungry for either the whole day or for the whole night. These are the sort of minor problems a sirdar or a group leader must know and be able to solve. Sometimes the minor problems grow into obstacles to the expedition groups. But during the day time when the sherpas come back to Base Camp they take interest in boiled potatoes. Potatoes are not expensive to purchase in the villages. When the Sherpas carry loads in the early morning, which is very cold in autumn season, as they say the members should provide one small tea thermos to carry two to four cups of tea for the trail.

The role of cook is very important. The cook prepares food for those who stay at Base Camp. One sherpa said that when the high altitude cook neglected to prepare good food for the sherpas on the American Women Everest Expedition they (sherpas) threw all the luggage from Camp . He further added that if the sherpas could not get good food it would be very difficult to carry the loads to high Camps. As a result of this they become

weak and sick. Generally, they do not prefer to take European food but will take it if their own is not available. According to them, they do not need standard European food rather potatoes, rice and other local foods (*thukpa*-noodles, *syan*-boiled flour, *shyakpa*-Sherpa stew, *tsampa*-roasted barley flour) are quite energetic and suitable for their main meal. In fact, it is not a matter of high Camps. They know well it is very difficult to arrange different types of food in high Camps. Anyway, they cannot say anything about their food at Base Camp, they talk with each other and remember their system of *khaponi sawo* which means everyday the menu is changed for the consumption of food. Accordingly, the Sherpas change their menu after every meal and repeat it only after two or three days. In the same way they expect to have their own regular food-potato as often as possible. It is hard for them to get along without boiled potato during their long stay at Base Camp.

Uses of Alcohol

So far as the three corner groups are concerned in the context of alcohol intaking, practice, most of the Sherpas and liaison officers were seen drunk (but not too much) at Everest Base Camp. Many western climbers bring imported drinks but they do not drink during climbing period. If the Sherpas are from Khumbu, often household members send bottles of *chhyang* (local beer) or *rakshi* (local wine) to Base Camp. Those who get drink they feel very happy because they can fulfill their thirst. However, the Sherpa women are not part of this cultural feature.

The Sherpas can consume alcohol just as easily at 5,400 m to 6000 m at high Camp. But, no Sherpa women showed interest in taking liquor at high Camp. In comparison to them, the male members do not mind to take liquor at any place. In course of talking about liquor, one informant (Sherpa) remembered his previous times at Everest: he and friends took a lot of drinks at Base Camp. By early next morning though they had hangover they reached Camp I and II carrying heavy loads. Though his friends were vomiting but they did not hesitate to come back from Ice Fall. It shows that the Sherpas are well acclimatized to their environment. In fact they seem so well acclimatized that they did not hesitate to sing songs for hours in the evening at high Camp (7,200 m). During stay at Base Camp, they sang a lot of songs every evening from Everest West Shoulder that were heard by the French members through the walki-talki. Besides singing and alcohol intaking, sexual intercourse is also sometimes practised at such altitude (5,400 m) without affecting their climbing.

Everest Base Camp

Everest Base Camp, 30 to 35 km. from Namche or 3 hours walk from Gorakshep to north, is situated on the western side of Ice Fall and Nuptse, and at the buttom of Mt. Khumbutse and Lhola. Lhola, the western side of Mt. Everest Shoulder and northern side of Pumari are particularly liable to frequent avalanches: the mass of snow thundering down with a white puff in its wake in frightening to anyone. The Ice Fall which is often considered the most dangerous part of the Everest climb is also liable to avalanches time and again. The Ice Fall that descended down the western CWM (mountaineering term for a hanging valley) towards the Base Bamp is like a frozen lava spilling over a volcanic cone, or to give a more hydrologic imagery a mass of white waves

churning down a cataract and suspended in the act (Gurung, 1980: 321).

The size of Base Camp is about 200 m in length and 100 m in breadth. On its eastern side, there is a small rivulet and many ice seracs (blocks of ice nixed with snow) and on the western side a small track to Mt. Pumari and big crevasses. On its south and in the surrounding area there are huge blocks of stone perched a top blocks of ice about 30 meters above the ground and some thick sections of green ice that have been sculptured into vertical walls.

The northern wall of Everest Base Camp, a sharp ridge between Lingtrentse and Khumbutse, has a particularly dark visage with a series of granite ribs down which rocks rol with frequency. The cameramen for the expedition groups generally go there to take film of the Ice Fall, Camp one and Nuptse. Coming to the down side of Base Camp, the Khumbu glacier from Base Camp extends up to Thugla with its mass of rock, moraine, ice, snow and frozen rivulets. At Base Camp, about every 5 minutes, the moraine breaks down one mm, finally forming a crevasse.

There are often one or two dogs which accompany the groups from lower valley. The dogs survive at Base Camp on the leftover food. Like dogs, some birds are also seen around the Camp which are known as *gorak*, *khongma* and other mini birds. The *gorak* is a Tibetan crow whose scientific name is *Corvas corax*, and the *khongma*, a red billed alpine chough, is known as *Pyrrhocorax pyrrhocorax*. They are always flying overhead. They also eat some leftover food. The other birds such as *lammergeier*, *hoopoe*, *rosefinch* and *robin accentor* (Jon Fleming and Ronald Faux, 1977: 238) are also seen near by Camp. They can be found up to 6,200 m.

Base Camp is established above the moraine. At night the ice gives a terrible sound while it breaks underneath the moraine. Due to the movement of glaciers, the shape of Base Camp is always changing. The writer had seen the shape of Base Camp in autumn and that it was completely changed in winter while liaisoning to the French group. When there is much snow in the winter even the local people walk only by the help of Yaks. Yaks and Naks (Himalayan male and female cattles) are very sensitive and by smelling they know the presence of a crevasse on the track (Livestock Farming-Namche). Laden Yaks generally go upto Base Camp.

Purity and Pollution

Again to the point of purity and pollution of Base Camp: when occupied year round, people eat and throw, use something and throw, everywhere there will be human excrement, dung, plastic, extra-food, half cigarette, empty cigarette cases, papers, bottles, bones, tins, aluminium, pieces of rope, nylon etc. In short from a sanitary point of view Himalaya Base Camp may be said to be built on a rubbish surfacial moraine in the middle of latrines. At first, most People take an interest in keeping Base Camp clean. As the days pass, cleaning is completely forgotten. According to the Sherpas traditional belief, they do not burn rubbish materials, as they believe that the smoke from rubbish gives a bad smell to the mountain gods who are then displeased and may bring harm to the people's lives. In their belief, the serpent deity, *lu*, and the mountain god may be angry with them. If the god is displeased with them, an avalanche, landslide, rainfall or cattle sickness may come. Thus they prefer not to burn rubbish. Instead of that they always want to burn incense to give good smell to the local

spirits or gods for their pleasure. Burning of rubbish is thus considered the worst pollution for the Sherpas, whereas the nonburning of materials in the sense of discarded materials is a bad pollution for the modern thinkers or environmental specialists. This demonstrates the difference in cultures between our and their versions. If their version, in the sense of Sherpas is correct then it would better to give slogan only for "Bury All Rubbish" instead of "Burn and Bury... ... ...". After completing the expedition, all rubbish either could be burned or buried but at that time everyone wants to hurry to move down from Base Camp. In any case all three groups should be more conscious about discarding materials that pollutes the whole Himalayan environment. The trail and Camp sites are also polluted because of the flow of trekkers and porters. As was seen in post monsoon there were human feces, cigarette cases, papers, spit, plastics, bottles and tin along the trail and and at camp sites. Lukla, a beautiful village, has been spoiled, because of the flow of tourists, porters and local people. Now-adays trekking and mountaineering starts and finishes there. The discarded rubbish are thrown outside of homes or on the street. Very few lodges have built personal toilets most use open toilets just behind the home. Due to the negligence of local people and porters Lukla (2850 m) environment is growing more polluted day by day. Everywhere there seems human excrement and other rubbish which give bad smells. The same characteristics are found in Beding (Rolwaling) and other settlements where there are no personal toilets.

After passing through Lukla, Tyangboche, Feriche and Lobuche seems even dirtier. Perhaps there is no difference between Lobuche and Everest Base camp. So it is not only a problem at certain Camp sites. As Pawson et al write, "At the present time of more greater current importance than tourist related fuel use in Khumbu is waste disposal. Despite National Park requirements that visitors remove or bury trash, trails and Camp sites are becoming increasingly littered. Some streams have become so polluted that signs are posted warning trekkers not to use the water they contain." (243-244).

Especially in winter, people should collect and gather all rubbish in one place. If it is not burnt, or buried in the meantime the rubbish disappear under heavy snowfall. If not done that will be very difficult to remove from the snow at the time of returning to Kathmandu, so due to that reason, burning of those materials is an urgent task to perform every after three days or week in Himalayan Base Camp. In connection with National Park, it is Khunjo Chumbi, according to Hillary (Ibid: 14), opined that "Hillary first brought sugar to the lips of the Sherpas, but he is now throwing chilli in their eyes." Still there is a tradition of throwing those rubbish and discarded materials under the crevasse. Very few Nepali workers realise that Base Camp as well as the approach to camps are to be protected from waste pollution by falling concepts of native version.

It is not only a matter of Everest Base Camp, all Base Camps of the Himalayas should be cleaned by the groups who use them. It has been nearly 34 years that the mountains has been opened to international climbers. In every Base Camp, people should take a keen interest to keep a clean environment for good sanitation. Actually, the cleaning act should go to the local people and the expedition groups themselves. Environmental education should be provided to the personnel of trekking agencies and motivatoin for the villagers then only it will

to bring awareness or consciousness about purity and pollution.

Nepali Women in the Mountain

Women also climb in the mountain In the context of Nepali women, Ang Ngimi Sherpa reached the Nuptse summit (7,145 m) in 1984 antumn season with her husband Ang Lhakpa Sherpa, affiliated with the French Nuptse Expedition Group. In the same season, Nepali women police also climbed Labuche peak (6,119 m) and 13 women belonging to different ethnic groups of Nepal reached the summit. This is a land-mark in Nepal's mountaineering history not only among non-Sherpas (Shambu Tamang and Narayan Shrestha) but regarding women's roles in the Himalaya. According to Ang Ngimi Shrepa, she could climb the mountain because she does not have issues. Her other two Sherpa friends (two Sherpani mountain climbers) have also similar type of situation. However, Ang Ngimi wishes to climb Mt. Everest at any time with any groups.

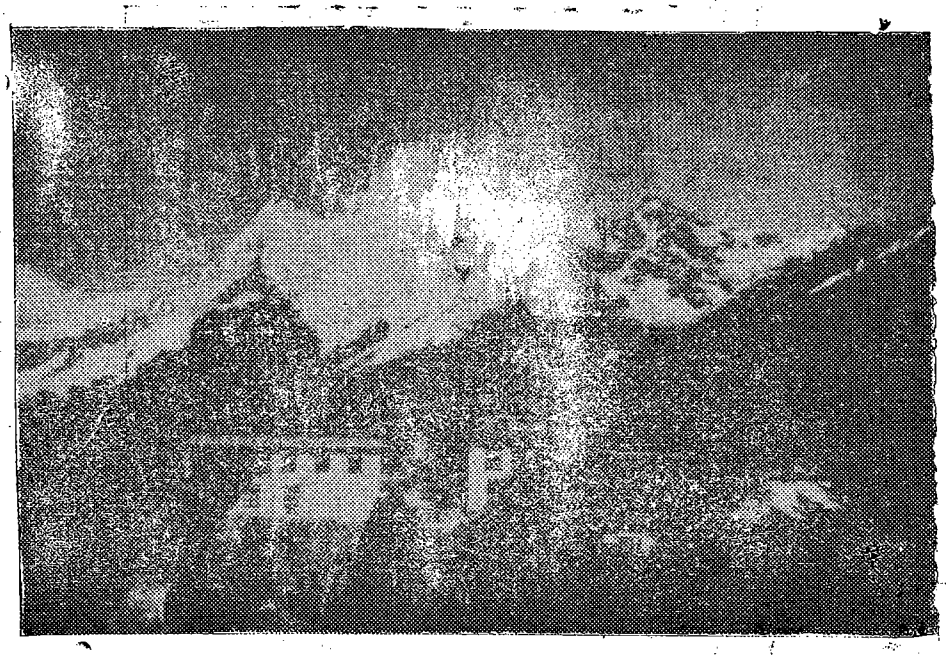
Base Camp Environment

For Hindus, Himalayas remains as their sacred spot or pilgrimage. 'Himalaya' means snow (Him) and home (alaya) is the place that Mahadev and Parvati (husband and wife) settled. For Tibetan Buddhist, Himalaya is regarded as place of the female deity or village god, *hyullha*. It is that region where previously the other people also used to go to collect medicinal herbs and hunting. But now a days due to the flow of modern medicines and establishment of National Park, the act of herb collection is almost left and hunting is completely prohibited to all. However, slaughtering or killing is religiously prohibited among the Tibetan Buddhist groups.

According to Sir Edmund Hillary, "It is people who create a bad environment and a bad environment brings out the worst in people. Man and nature need each other, and by hurting one we wound the other." (1984:15).

For mountain lovers, the Himalaya has become a paradise. This is why everyone should know the value of mountain and equally they must take an active interest to keep the mountains healthy and unpolluted. The expedition teams are increasing year after year, even during winter: there were more than 13 terms in 1984-85 who touched their foot on the Himalayas. With expedition teams throughout the year in the Himalayas, one can not imagine the problem of keeping Base Camp clean. At any time there may be two or three expedition teams on Mt. Everest.

In 1973, six young environment conscious students (4 boys and 2 girls) of the Olympia Evergreen State College, Washington, first coined a slogan in their country that Everest region is going to more polluted and that it has to be cleaned up. For 20 days, they buried 2 tons of garbage which they collected in the Khumbu area. They also placed a couple of signboards reading "Please Do Not Pollute Everest" in English, Japanese and Nepalese at different places in the Everest region. It is further heartening to learn that this year too, 20 foreigners are in the Everest region to work for 20 days to clean the garbage left there by so many expeditions that took place in the preceding year (Shrestha, 1982: 93). Realizing the problem, Ministry of Tourism organized one team in 1984 just to clean up to Everest Base Camp. Their purpose of cleaning the Camp was to bring to local people and expedition group awareness about keeping a clean environment in the Himalayas. Later



Tyangboche Monastery and Mt. Amadablam view

A view of Mt. Everest, West Shoulder, Lhola, Nuptse Ridge, Ice Fall, Everest Base Camp, Seracs, Khumbu glacier and the last northern peak-Chinese Mountain.

Ang Furba Sherpa of Namche Bazar on the way (near South-Col) to Mt. Everest top (courtesy: Ang Dorje Sherpa of Namche Bazar)

A view of Mt. Everest top and Ang Furba Sherpa on the Everest summit (courtesy: Ang Dorje Sherpa of Namche Bazar

on, in autumn season, 1984, Nepal Police also cleaned the Everest Base Camp and the Everest climbing route upto 8,380 m (Inspector Gupta Bahadur Rana-personal communication). They have posted many signs like "Burn and Bury All Rubbish Materials" on the approach routes from Jorsale upto Lobuche. One hopes that their efforts will bear fruits in accelerating further positive steps for cleaning-up tourist area in all of Nepal.

Activities of Base Camp Workers

Among the Base Camp workers, the kitchen boy and cook seem very busy from early morning (3 or 4 o'clock) to late evening (11 o'clock). Their main duty is to wash the dishes, to prepare food, bed tea, breakfast, lunch, tiffin and dinner. The kitchen boy brings the water, washes the dishes, helps the cook for his food preperation and serves the tea and food to all Base Camp settlers. These are the regular duties of the cook and kitchen boy. It indicates that they have to be busy for 24 hours.

The credit for a successful expedition thus must also go to the cook, kitchen boy and other Base Camp staff as well as to the high altitude porters and sirdar. Many Base Camp workers expressed that they were not satisfied with the members because they were not provided full equipment and were ignored in many aspects. Though a mail-runner gets Rs. 30/- per day, excluding his daily allowance for lodging and fooding during his mailing time, he often faces difficult conditions and even may risk his life during winter due to heavy snowfall on the way. These are other minor problems which the group leader must mind to.

While staying in Base Camp some Sherpas do not smoke and the cigarettes which are provided by the expedition members but sell them to other smokers charging Rs. 15 per packet. They take leftover mountain foods either to their home or sell it to shopkeepers. From this some of them will be certainly benefitted in monetary aspect.

Climbing: A Risk Assessment

High Himalayan climbing (above 7000 m) is risky business. Indeed it is quite possibly the riskiest there is. The Sherpas climb Everest for money whereas the other (alpinists) climb because "it is there." The risk taker's world view corresponds to that of the adventurous Himalaya trader: the Buddhist. The risk avoider's world view corresponds to that of the cautious stay at home cultivation: the Hindu (Thompson, 1983: 301). He further writes "For every proverbs and catchphrases there is, there would seem to be a contradictory counterpart: "Look before you leap" versus 'He who hesitates is lost'(Ibid). However, in this article the Hindus are not considered as risk avoiders in comparison with the Sherpas and their role in the mountain. Not only the Hindus, those who have settled in low altitude (including the Sherpas of Solu, Lamobagar, Bigu, Remechhap and other areas have not succeed to develop mountaineering skill by following the concept "He who hesitates is lost." The reason is that the surrounding ecology has not constrained them to take risk in the mountain. Therefore, the concept risk taker's world view and the proverb "He who hesitates is lost" can be applied only among the Sherpas of Khumbu. Even the Sherpas of Khumbu also know there is risk. Though they take risk but sometimes, according to circumstances, they do not. Their belief towards the nature, god, and the social situation is strong. If they dream something

negative in relation with the mountain they refuse to climb or cancel their programme because of the dreamt risk. For example, on the Nanda Kot Expedition Sherpa sirdar Ang Tshering refused to ascend the summit as he had dreamt that the Goddess Nanda Devi had forbidden him to do so" (Kohli and Verghese, 1962:66). During fieldwork at Everest Base Camp in post monsoon season, 1984, Ang Furba Sherpa of Namche Bazar, one of the Everest summiteers, immediate sirdar of Czechoslovakia Everest Expedition group, explained that he had dreamt that some ladies were laughing before him and compared his dream with Mt. Everest, "Mother Goddess". As he thought that she may not be pleased with him and refused to climb that day.

One Sherpa of Khunde and Sundare Sherpa of Pangboche working with French Winter Everest Expedition 1984-85, said that the day was not good for climbing and committed to climb from next day onward. According to them, the next day was their birth-day of the week which is considered as good for starting any type of work. This shows that they are very cautious with good and bad days. Each and every person has his/her own recognized days on which they start their work for success and do not start anything on their socially recognized bad days. According to their belief, Monday, Wednesday and specially birthday of the week on which they prefer to start work, such as climbing the mountain. These days may be good for them for success or to protect against trouble or accident during climbing period.

In regard to this, most of the climbing Sherpas would go to see the famous lama to know their life fortune during expedition about good and bad before joining the group to climb in the Himalaya. For this, the lama fore-casts something good (no risk) or bad (risk) after consulting Tibetan horoscope, *dattu*, and other concerning texts, considering and consulting his *dja* (day), *karma* (tara), *thewchen* (auspicious occasion), *parka* (birth omen), *merwa* (astronomic traits that gives knowledge about the fortune and misfortume of the life), *lorta* (year) under *kejaa*, (birthday), *soksaa*, (longivity), *lojaa* (birth year), and *sejaa* (bad fortune or bad planet).Sometimes the lama may suggest to perform certain *kurim* rites which is a kind of religious remedy, in their belief pattern. The remedy is done by the lama through ritual performance. If the lama suggests him not to climb the mountain because of bad indication for his life he will probably not join the groups. They take risk only after getting positive advice for climbing by the lama. It does not mean that all Sherpas consult with the lama. Even then, they take risk because they have to earn money for survival. There are very few Sherpas whose main intention is to get fame from reaching the summit, rather than earning money. Mostly the non-Sherpas, are not so inspired to climb the Himalayas from private sector.

A sirdar may earn minimum 30 thousand rupees and a Sherpa (high altitude porter) earns more than 15 thousand rupees in one expedition during ninety days. Even so, their wife and parents do not want to send them to climb Everest time and again because of the risks.

They are surviving on the mountain's lap where there is much snow and very cold climate and temperature ranging down to minus 20° c. in their settlement area in Khumbu. They are the true risk takers. On the the other hand, the risk avoiders (non-Sherpas) are living in hilly regions where there are no snowy mountains. They naturally hesitate to climb mountains or to go to the Himalayas because of non-involvement with trekking

agencies, unfamiliarity with outsiders, inability to arrange mountain equipment and intolerance to the bitter cold. Besides that there are also many Sherpas who are purely risk avoiders; for example the Sherpas of Lamobagar, Bigu, Labchi, many Sherpas of Solu, Bhojpur, Ramechhap and other areas. It is also because mountaineering is not their main profession. Comparatively most of the educated Sherpas have not pursued a mountaineering occupation because of risk. But they cannot be compared with the Sherpas of Khumbu who are recognized as natural climbers of Nepal. Though they have climbed many times they remember well their friend's tragedies seen on the spot. In this regard, Partemba Sherpa, on his first accent with Peter Boardman (1975) after experiencing the loss of a friend, food, bad weather and snow blindness, vowed he would never climb again. Years later he was back with the Germans as their camp manager but with no inclination toward climbing. At the Everest Base Camp however, Partemba could not resist, saying "I can not stand there when I see the mountain. He put on his gear, joined the climbers and made it to the top-his second accent" (Sharma: 1980). It indicates that he takes both the risk-taking world view and the risk-avoiding world view. Sundare Sherpa once said about climbing, "I am not afraid to climb. But when I see friends die before me I get afraid." Talking about safety in the snow once he said that he did not feel safe during winds and stormy conditions on the mountain (Nepal Vision, 1984:32). True, the Sherpas are culturally risk avoiders and economically risk takers. If they are pleased with the groups, if they have good friends, if the weather condition is favourable to them, they do not mind to take a risk. Most of the Sherpas join with the expedition groups in winter and climb the mountain following the principle of 'Look before you leap' and neglecting the principle of 'He who hesitates is lost'. The expression 'likes and dislikes' also plays a unique role while affiliating with the members to climb the mountain. Most of them are poor in technical climbing but they know almost about mountain, situations, events, accidents, routes, weather, crevasse and the trails because of their long experiences in trekking and mountaineering with many groups. They climb the mountain very carefully in comparison with outsiders. In the context of tragedies that occurs in the mountain, Schaller (1980: 189) writes, "Sherpas generally climb for money not enjoyment and a small tribe can not afford to loose so many of its best young men to the mountains that april, 10 Sherpas died with a South Korean expedition to Mt. Manaslu, the previous 5 had died an another expedition, the year before that on 6 on Mt. Everest, and so on, each year taking frightful toll. Let foreign climbers carry their own loads to the high camps. Why decimate a valuable tribes to satisfy someone's hobby." Even though total accident occuring in the Himalaya is normal phenomena. A total of 63 persons (Nepali and Foreigners) have lost their life on Mt. Everest till 1985. According to Furer-Haimendorf (1984: 74) since 1953, of a total of 116 men from Solu Khumbu who are believed to have perished on mountains, 28 hailed from Khumjung and Kunde, 14 from Namche Bazar, 16 from the Thamichok area, 7 from Phortse and 6 from Pangboche". The given number of fatal accident by Haimendorf is only from Khumbu region. There are many other Sherpas from Solu and other areas who have died in the Himalayas. As it is known that 5 other Sherpas from Solu, 1 from Lukla, 10 from Khumbu died by accident during trekking and mountaineering till 1985.

In 1984-85, winter, the temperature dropped to minus 40° c. and wind was blowing

upto 200 kilometers per hour in and around Everest (altitude at about 7,500 m). During winter everywhere the ground is frozen and there is much snowfall especially in the months of January and February. It is very difficult to arange *dzopkyos* or *Yaks* to carry loads (about 60 kg.) with the help of herders. At that time goods are very expensive due to the heavy snowfall. The Sherpas are ready to climb Everest even in this time which is really a strange ! They are eager to climb because they hope to get more equipment and bonuses than usual.

A climber should always be careful about many things: with the weather, food, mountain gear, intra-group relation, avalanches, frostbite, verticality and cerebral and pulmonary oedema. If the group does not have good quality of mountain gear they can not climb safely, accidents are a greater possibility as is the suffering from frostbite. Now and then the climbers should try to come down to rest at Base Camp. One day's rest at Base Camp is more beneficial than three day's rest at high camps. Thus they have to acclimatize and then go further in high camp. Intra-group relations are also most important during an expedition. To have more confidence they must have strong bonds among each other. If the relationships break down in camp, there will be great risk between the climbers, and consequently the team must abandon and go home. Mismanagement by the group leader can also dissolve an expedition. In the same way, if the sirdar could not manage well an expedition may be unsuccessful. This type of problem sometimes occurs on Everest. Generally a group has to know about three types of problems: (i) organisational, (ii) technical, and (iii) natural. All of those are equally important from the view point of risk, abandonment, and success.

All group members must keep information about the weather conditions. If one climbs without considering the weather one faces one of the riskiest jobs of the Himalaya. If there are clouds there may be heavy snowfall and the track may not be visible because of snowfall. Under such conditions, accidents occur, as the writer came to know when one of two Japanese died on Mt. Gaurishankar (7,146 m) in 1985-spring season when they ignored the weather conditions. The liaison officer Mr. Shiva Prasad Dhakal and another Japanese member said that "In those days a lot of snow was falling and the track was not visible so they fell while climbing up." A climber has to know from which the wind is blowing up. During my stay at Everest Base Camp in winter 1985, wind started from January onward. The wind was blowing upto 200 kilometers per hour and snow was falling heavily. The average temperature was minus 15° to 17° c. at Everest Base Camp and 30° to 40° c, at 7,500 m. These are all dangerous signals for the climbers. Even though there was no snowfall in the mountainous area between October and November. There are possiblities of avalanches due to the sunshine melting the wet post monsoon snow. In post-monsoon there will be an occasional wind blowing in high camps and tolerable cold at Base Camp in comparison with winter season. But, there seems much avalanches in August-September.

Another dangerous feature of climbing is when the Ice Fall breaks and no one knows of it. Other hazards are suffering from diseases like stomach disorders, diarrhoea, cold, headache, nausea, insomnia, breathlessness frostbite, pulmonary and cerebral oedema to coma and finally death. Artificial oxygen saves some people's lives. One should come down immediately if serious illness is evident while climbing, nearly everyone is affected by

some sort of problem. In this connection most of the people first may get high altitude sickness from Thugla (7,620 m) upward. After Feriche and even after Lobuche or from the same place or Gorakshep (5,150 m) one will feel slightly splitting headache for the new goer. If one gets high altitude sickness he should get down immediately which is the best medicine for high altitude sufferers. Despite all of these hindrances, obstacles, and risks the climbers persist to attack the Camp after Camp. These are the main characteristics of Himalayan sportmanship.

Coming to the point of solution to organisational or practical problem, the role of sirdar, group leader and liaison officer seem to be very important. All of these corner groups have a unique role in a successful climb. A sirdar must pay close attention to the needs and activities of the porters, Sherpas, kitchen staff and the members. He should be able to control the Nepalese workers, all except the liaison officer. If he is not able to keep them disciplined the entire expedition is jeopardized. The liaison officer must also watch over the situation and should inform the group leader if something goes wrong. He should be dedicated not only to his staff and members but to the Ministry of Tourism also. He should always try to keep communication among all groups. If he can keep in touch with both Sherpa groups and the members, naturally a good environment will prevail. There must always remain good relations between all three corner groups unless the expedition group returns back to Kathmandu. Like the sirdar and liaison officer, the group leader should also have practical knowledge about the whole team structure and individual functions. Just aiming at climbing does not give any guarantee for reaching the summit. He has to show a philanthropic idea, rational thinking and charismatic personality towards the whole structure of the team. If he can run the expedition this way the Sherpas and liaison officer will be pleased with the members and will encourage them to reach the summit.

Climbing Partner

One always seeks to take a good partner while climbing the mountains. Sherpas feel no problem if they are with close partners. As they climb they generally talk, joke, laugh, stop and take a few minutes rest, smoke & again start climbing on and on. This is their style of mountain climbing especially on Everest. As some Sherpas said, it will be only possible to climb a mountain if they are with their true friends.

Climbing Differences

Unlike the Sherpas, most of the members neither drink alcohol nor smoke cigarettes. They talk about weather, equipment, Camps, routes, problems but do not laugh much. But, it does not mean that they do not enjoy with their Sherpas or other Camp staff at all. Most of the members seem very tired and exhausted from the high altitude, even though they do not show their fatigue except while ascending. In the very beginning some of them seem quite fast in climbing but later they walk very slowly because of tiredness. On the other hand the Sherpas move slowly while climbing on the mountain. It seems somewhat difference between the two corner groups. A Sherpa from his rich experience can immediately forecast whether the members can go upto summit or not. This they do not flash but talk with each other.

Problems in Mountaineering

It is said that to form a climbing group the member must be compatible in

temperament, technical ability and experiences. Even fulfilling these necessary qualifications many groups (still) face many problems during their expedition. Generally the problems are started by the local porters. In regards to the porters, Sharma (1982: 8-9) writes "Many of the problems connected with porters have actually emanated as a result of the lack of an organised and registered pool of professional porters who could be drawn upon when required". He further writes, "The problem in this area are mainly related to (i) availability and (ii) rates. Rates, very often, despite government specifications, depend on demand and urgency of the job and the demand/supply equation is at times naturally taken to its extreme. This cause hardship to expeditions". He has not discussed in detail about the local porters which are available in certain places like in Khumbu region and others.

Sometimes some porters, while affiliating with the team, may quarrel with the members because the team member treats them as his servant. Some member's intention is to move with the porter is yet their paces are different because the member carries only a light load. The members behave thus due to the lack of practical knowledge about the culture, environment, temperament, attitude and perception of the local people and the situations. In this regard, they (Westerners) should not compare with anything which they get and see in their countries. Nepalese style of life, temperament, behaviours, attitudes, norms, values, custom and manner is completely different from others. Sometimes porters or other people may steal something and flee, it may create a big problem for the members. Generally the porters are arranged by the *naike*, (leader of the porters) who is directly in touch with the sirdar. Porterage in Nepal is socially less preferred activity and it is only economic considerations that has led people to fall upon porterage as way of life (Sharma, 1982: 9). In Nepal, especially for trekking and mountaineering, the porters are hired from certain junctions.

The naike / sirdar distributes the loads among the porters. If one gets more than 30 kg., the legal limit, a porter may refuse to walk, or if he does carry it, may be sick after several days walking. Expedition staff sometimes become drunk in approached camp in the evening, and occasionally rise to conflict and even violence. Though it does not affect directly to the members but there seems not good environment.

At the time of paying the porters (50 Rupees a day), a *naike* charges 5 Rs. from each the first day as his fee which is professionally accepted by the porters. This is their traditional system. Some porters have said that some authorities do not pay full salary as that was previously agreed upon with group leader For example. the porters can reach Namche from Jiri in 9 or 10 days but they will be paid for 15 days, as was promished by the authority. If later on, they were paid for 13 days only by which they become angry. They then claimed that their *saheb* promised to pay for 15 days but now they were getting their payment only for 13 days. A group leader must be cautious in this regard and a sirdar should show good sympathy toward the poor porters. This is not the case in every team, however. Those mountaineers who have big experiences in Nepal they will have no problem at all.

When the group establishes Base Camp, for two days most of the people (including Sherpas) seem very busy arranging tents, kitchen hall, store, messtent, religious altar,

and arrangement for the climbing equipments. The rest of the time is given for ice practice in the seracs. After completing this work, the Sherpas try out their equipment-krampons, carabiners, mountain boots, down jackets, down pants, ice axes, safety belts, jumers, rock pitons, ice pitons, artificial oxygen plus regulator, gaiter, fixed rope, gogles, gloves, main rope and finally the walki-talki. While trying out the gear they compare the quality in their remind with their previous equipment that was provided by previous groups. They talk it about in their own dialect which is not understood by the others. If the gear is of low quality, they hesitate to climb the mountain because of risk. If the members provide good quality equipment the workers will be pleased with them and will not hesitate to climb which is the long run is well worth the extra expense.

Before climbing Everest, the sirdar, Sherpas, and the group leader make an agreement as to the bonus that will be given when they reach each camp. Sometimes if the group does not reach the top, perhaps the leaders do not want to give a bonus to the Sherpas, which causes disputes among them. after every three to five days, the Sherpas get one or two days leave to relax. They often come down to Base Camp and sometimes, without any mention, go to Gorakshep or Lobuche. Such as a trip may be risky if something happens and no one is along to rescue them. Those who are taking rest at Base Camp either play cards or *para syo*, a Tibetan game, or lavish some jokes. Those who do not play and recall their past experiences at the same place and talk to each other.

Sometimes the health condition of the high-altitude Sherpas is not conveyed to the liaison officer. Once two Sherpas from Camp II wanted to contact through walki-talki at Base Camp but the group denied them contact. In the meantime, a Sherpani came to Base Camp just to see her husband and wanted to talk to him through the walki-talki but permission was not given to either one. She showed her worriedness toward her husband because he is climbing the Everest in such a cold season and that is very risky. Her intention was just to talk to her husband only through walki-talki that was all. Finally, after not having contact with her husband, She started weeping on and on at Base Camp. Then two Sherpas come to know it & quarrelled with the members at Camp II and came down to Base Camp. After finding out more information from the woman they again quarrelled with the members and finally decided to quit their jobs. At that time the liaison officer, who was present at Base Camp, could neither get information, about the events of Sherpas at camp II and III nor he took keen interest about the disputes. According to him, he did not take keen interest because he was not informed anything about the progress of climbing by the Base Camp managers. In the same way the sirdar wanted always to remain neutral between them. This proves that there was a complete lack of communication between groups the three corner groups. In any case, the member should have good affection towards their workers and frequently they must inform the liaison officer about the health conditions situations, progress report of the whole teams. For various reasons women coming to Base Camp to stay there does not seem good for the high Himalayan climbers. Anyway there should be good understanding among each other.

There are some members who want to climb the mountain without any loads or with minimum weight. They push the Sherpas with heavy loads to high camp. They may become

angry and refuse to climb with such heavy loads. The Sherpas have their own version: that although they are the workers of the members every one should carry equal loads to high camps.

Sometimes, some members, in the absence of a liaison officer, convincing to the other Nepali workers not following the Government rules and regulations climb from different route which indicates that they have not followed their sincerity. As the members express that is simply rock climbing. But, in the context of Nepal Himalaya, they should know that rock (mountain) is considered as valuable as diamond. The writer if fairly sure that many groups follow the Government rules and regulation as well as they show much sympathy towards the Nepali workers who also have not created any problems and the members also have reached the summit and returned back happily.

There are some people who are more interested in getting mountain equipment and money from the groups than in helping the members. Side by side they should be loyal to the groups. Their main duty is to help the members during the climbing. Sometimes if they are not pleased with the members for some reason they threaten to return all the gear and to go back down. Desertion of the group is paramount to abandoning the whole expedition. Once they joined with the team it is not good to leave unless the expedition is completed. Once, when the group reached Khumjung, one Sherpa said that he did not want to climb further because he could not see any close friends. Finally, at the request of the sirdar and the liaison officer, he accompanied the group. If a worker has already agreed to climb Everest with a particular group, and later changes his mind, it is a great deception to the foreigners. For instance, two people left their jobs two months after their involvement in Everest West ridge. Disobeying the sirdar's order, they came down from high camp. At Base Camp they quarreled with the Base Camp manager and went down without any goods or chattlement. None of the members give any equipment to them. The sirdar and members appointed another two climbers but the problem lingered on and on. Finally, the group had to abandon their expedition because time was passing day by day and no process was being made. In this aspect a sirdar by any means, has to convince the porters and climbing crew to stay on and continue working. Generally, a sirdar recommends taking some of his neighbours or relatives as for Sherpas. For their neighbours they use the term *khimji* or *hyulwa*. They may be more loyal to him because they are appreciative to have the job. A sirdar has to treat all workers equally well even if some of them are not his *khimji hyulwa*. Once for instance, as some Sherpas said, a sirdar was always favouring his neighbours and did not care for the other Sherpa's practical problems. Finally the others left the group. This caused a great problems for the members.

Some people's main intention is to steal the member's goods. When the group was going to Everest Base Camp many things were stolen along the trail. On the return as well many things were lost on the trail and at camping sites. If the group has already reached the summit they do not care so much about losing things but if the expedition was abandoned, and gear missing, there will be big dispute between the Nepali workers and the members. These are the things which the group leader and the sirdar has to think very carefully. Only then there will be no problems.

The liaison officer is deputed from the Ministry of Tourism. Previously, he was deputed without much experience or practical knowledge. The local people said that the liaison officers were ignorant about mountaineering. They did not like to stay at Base Camp the entire time but they are not supposed to go above Base Camp. Some seemed always worried about getting high altitude sickness. Thus they wanted to stay in the lower valleys where food and shelter is available and comfortable. Due not to the presence of a liaison officer at Base Camp the groups had to face many problems during expeditions. The liaison officer does not carry any load or personal luggage while the others do. He may be ill adjusted to the people of different culture not because of being a stronger but because of communication gaps between three corner groups. That is why previously many remained aloof from the rest of the group. Further more he is considered as a Government agent who is coming to check upon them. So he is regarded as an unwanted officer, a spy of Tourism Ministry. No one cares for him even if he is staying at Base Camp. As I came to know there are also conflicts between the sirdar, liaison officer and the members. In fact the duty of liaison officer is to stay at Base Camp during the whole period.

By realising all of these problems which occured during expeditions from all corners, the Ministry of Tourism since autumn 1984 has arranged a 7 to 10 days programme (orientation class) to train the liaison officers from different experts about expeditions. The writer was one of the trainees of the first programme. From that time, all the liaison officers except a few, have stayed at Base camp as long as they could. And as well, they have succeeded to keep very good relations with the members and convinced them that they are coming for the purpose of helping not exposing. Often, there is a great misunderstanding among the members about the function of the liaison officer. If the members do not treat him as an unwanted officer, he will be encouraged to stay at Base Camp for the whole time and is ready to solve any sort of problem if possible. Everyone knows that if somebody becomes sick at high altitudes he may be sent down immediately. The sirdars, Sherpa and other staff are very much pleased with the trained liaison officers, seeing their helping nature, positive behaviour and sincerity. Previously, a liaison officer was unknown to the culture and environment of the Himalayan region but now he will be thinking about environmental pollution, soil erosion, climbing activities and the Himalayas etc.

Above all, a liaison officer should try to be a good friends with the local porters, kitchenboy, cook, Sherpas, sirdar and the members. As far as possible, he should be able to give good information to the members. In fact he is the sole representative to the Government and alone is responsible for Government regulations. That is why all the team members should understand his practical problems in regards to the mountaineering rules and regulations. There were a few liaison officers who did not care for their job during expeditions. As writer came to know from local people Mr. 'A' was a liaison officer on the Chooyu Expedition from the northwest side. Apparently, he rarely went to Base Camp, staying mostly in Namche and occasionally visiting Everest Base Camp. Thus, he became polarized from the rest of the group. There was another liaison officer Mr. 'B' who was appointed to the group to Lhotse Shyar. He also never went to his camp and stayed all the

time in Namche. These are the exceptional cases comperatively among the trained liaison officers. If there is a liaison officer with the groups, probably, there will not be any problems during the expedition. If something happens he tries to solve it through the help of the Sirdar or the Sherpas or the group leader. It does not mean that every where and everytime there is a problem. There are many groups who never knew what sort of problem may occur during expeditions. My intention is to give only a matter of precaution.

Unless, the problem is identified, no one can do anything about it, In order to get the summit of Everest, the above mentioned problems should be known especially by the member. That is why it is very important to digest all these issues when some one comes to the mountain for reconnassaince. It is true, most of the successful teams heartely praise the Nepalese people and unsuccessful teams complain that they abandonned not due to their own fault, misunderstanding, inability or other reasons but because working with the Nepalese is not practical.

The Sherpas And Their Spirits

The Sherpas, have strong beliefs toward their gods and spirits (supernatural forces). Though shamanism is gradually declining in their society (Paul, 1976) spiritism is still very much a part of their lives. Though they are Buddhist but they believe in ghosts and spirits too. Therefore, they are animist also. They observe certain rites to protect themselves and their land from the evil spirits. According to their belief, the spirits are everywhere. They may give trouble to a person at any time. That is why the Sherpas, by any means, try to please the local gods through the lamas: by chanting or invoking religious prayers or reciting religious and liturgical texts which composed by the Tibetan lamas of medieval Tibet. In order to please the gods, to drive away the malignant spirits, they perform some religious rites even all the time of expedition. Their main purpose of worshipping the gods is to ask help for climbing the mountain and not to get any trouble or accident in the Himalayas and also for success.

In this regard firstly they follow the *kurim* (Tib. *sku-rim*) rite with the help of a lama. *Kurim* is a rite in which the lamas are called to the house to drive away malignant spirits, and to recite such books as *gyaldo*, *gyapshi* or *dzendo* for the benefit of the patient (Furer-Haimendorf 1964: 225). Thus Ortner (1978: 92-93) writes "In rituals petitioning the gods for assistance, the chief type of help requested is the gods alliance with humanity against the demons, and in fact rituals of offering and rituals of exorcism would both be classed by the Sherpas as *kurim*". In one kind of *kurim*, one calls all the gods, give them offerings and ask them to join your side in getting rid of the offending spirits. Then when the spirits see the god's power on your side, they realize that they are out done, are frightened and go away. In another ritual one asks the offending spirits what they will need to satisfy them, and give it to them. Actually, *kurim* or *syapten* are rites for remedies before, getting sickness or after getting ailment of the patient. If this rite is performed previously, it is known as *kurim gewa*. As such, the lamas read 16 volumes of *hyums* or 108 volumes of *kangyar* or 203 volumes of *Tyengyur* or other type of religious book and makes many ritual offerings. The second type of *kurim* is known as (*kurim*) *dyuwa* in which a lama consults a *damang* book. The word *kurim* is used for big personalities and *rimro* is used for simple personalitiesm but there is actually no difference between *kurim* and *rimro* in the rituatistic context. There

are various types of *kurim* which are performed before and after death. Among these *kurims* the Sherpas order the perfomance of certain rites to protect their lives and to drive away certain spirits who may give them trouble while they are ascending the mountain. In this type of *kurim* most of the lamas consult the book *farchelamsum, sambalhindup, chhokchumange tashichekpa, mandala, hyum, lungthar* etc. This rite is performed either at home or at the gomba. When the rite is completed, the family members will not be worrried about accidents occurring in the Himalaya. By chance, if a fatal accident occurred, the family members would send or offer some amount of money under the name of the deceased person, to many gombas and to many big lamas. This is ritually and religiously known as *ngomdil*. The purpose of performing this ritual is to request to the god to send the deceased soul to the heaven instead of hell. In this case as some Sherpanis especially widows after their husbands having a fatal accident, come to Base Camp and show their worriedness; some Sherpanis do not care anything about the accident except taking their husband's insurance. After getting insurance she can purchase many ornaments and will get pleasure from this.

According to their beliefs, if a Sherpa dies by accident on the mountain or somewhere else, the deceased soul is captured by the local spirit, *gyaptak*. As Furer-Haimendorf opines that "such a *gyaptak* may be the malignant ghost of an ancestor who had died in anger or pain" (1984: 102) If the soul is captured at the place where death occured, it is not a good sign as the soul then has to cross over many stages to the next world for rebirth. They believe that the deceased soul can go, if *gyaptak* does not interfere, to any of six realms: to gods, titans, humans, beasts, pretas, or to hell. "A bad *gyaptak* is considered capable of turning a person into a witch (Furer-Haimendorf, 1984:102). Thus, in order to stay free from the hands of a *gyaptak* a lama follows various rituals in different contexts as it was arranged by the Tibetan Buddhists.

The purpose of performing all these rites and rituals is to get success in their work, to have no accidents, and to prevent bad fortune. They are very much frightened by the spirits, a belief which has strongly influenced their life and culture.

In this aspect, when the climbing groups reach Tyangboche monastery, the lama shows great interest in their adventurous work and may offer the Tibetan tea and biscuits. Then he will say that he will pray for their safe return. It reveals that how Tibetan Buddhism attracts the others. The sirdar, firsts, goes to see the head lama and asks what the group may encounter on the mountain. To bring good luck for a successful climb one small religious activity is arranged known as *wang* which means power or ordination or initiation. In this process the lama distributes this sacred water and *chhilap* (sacred pills) to the attendants by touching the vajra (diamond) and *drilbu* (bell). This is a process of taking blessing from a reincarnate lama. Though it is a practice of the Sherpas but the members and the liaison officers also follow it because of religious matter. After that the sirdar may collect money (or may not) from every team member and hands it over to the gombas for performance of *syapten* under the name of the team. Some Sherpa sirdars do not hesitate to offer their own personal money to the gomba to gain religious merit. Thus was followed by the sirdar of French Winter Everest Expedition. Pasang Nurbu Sherpa of Namche, a sirdar of Japanese Gaurishankar Expedition

1985 (Spring Season) offered 2100 Rs. to Beding and Na gombas of Rolwaling valley.

When the group settles at Base Camp having not previously performed a religious rite, they do not immediately start climbing the mountain. First the Sherpas prepare an altar and arrange to perform a ceremony which is known as *lhapso*. (Tibetan: *Lha-gsol*). Foreigners use the term 'Base Camp Ceremony' for this performance. The term *lhapso* means invocation and offerings to the local gods. On the ceremonial day, particularly in the morning all Sherpas wear new mountain dresses and stand near the altar where a ritual master, *chhone* will perform the *lhapso* rite through the *dekeserkim* book. This is a short method of worshipping the local gods. The Sherpa pattern of changing dress in such an occassion or gathering is known as *sabtanamsa* and *galhachhok* respectively. Within an hour, the ritual master completes the rituals and all members of the three corner groups, (though the liaison officer and the members are completely unfamilar with the meaning of this ritual) go to the front of the altar. Finally, all the Sherpas cry together with loud voice *ki-ki so-so lha gelho* which means "victory cry" (Stein: 1972) and glory be to the gods, there by thanking and sending off the gods. The lama then distributes *chimmar* (flour) to every one to gain material-fortune, *temdil*. Continuing with the ceremony one of the Sherpas erects some *tharsing*, a flown from the *lhasu*, alter. A *lhasu* is built above the *denthi* which is built for the purpose of erecting the *tharshing*. *Tharshing* is generally offered to the mountain gods or which is a symbol of offering to the *hyullha*. *Denthi* is considered a place where the gods reside or sleep. But in this ceremony, it is used to display all ritual offerings and objects to perform the *lhapso* rite. Besides this a painted and printed clothes having some hymns for certain deities evolving long sacred symbolic pieces of five different colours, *tharchok*, are hung from one corner to another corner. The printed hymns are known as *gyalzen chumu*. The purpose of hanging this *tharchok* is to avoid trouble, accident and to ask for victory or success in any kind of work as well. Specially, from the view point of religious concept, the qualified monks do not care for the *gyaptak*. As they say the *gyaptak* is nothing just a mana (soul). It depends on his own *mana* where it drives the *gyaptak* goes. Therefore, the *gyaptak* does not affect to the sacred people.

This concludes a description of all things which must be done for a successful. With the blessings of the gods and hard work and good will from the groups, the climbers will get the top.

ki-ki-so-so lha-gyal-lo.

APPENDIX NO. 1

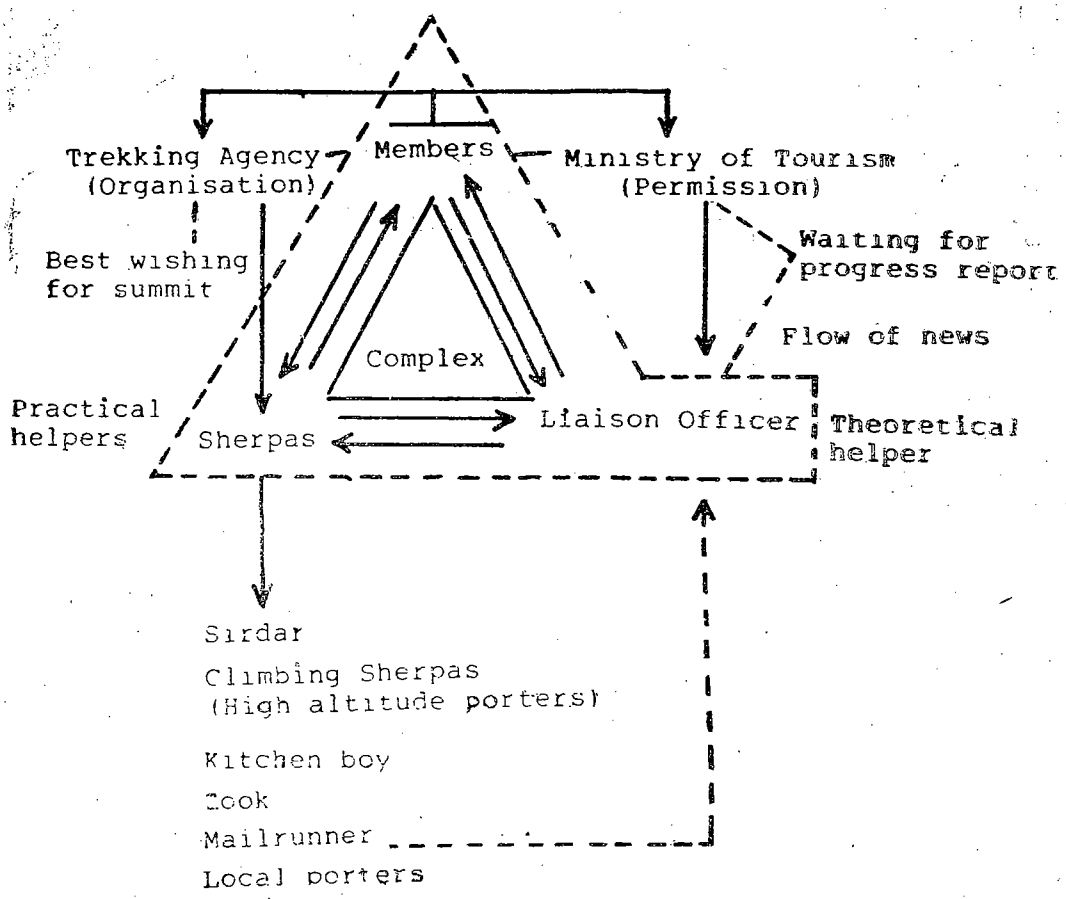


Chart. MSL: Three Corner Complex and Composition of Expedition Team in Nepal.

Notes

It was Ang Karma Sherpa of Solu, a trained mountaineer and Mari (wife of Eric Dossin, the group leader of French Winter Everest Expedition Team-1984-85) who always encouraged me to learn ice climbing or to practice in the seracs and finally, they took me upto Lhola point (about 6,100 m) on the route to Everest My purpose of climbing was to observe the high altitude activities of the Sherpas on the mountain. Besides that I am very much grateful to Dr. Suryalal Amatya, (President of Himalayan Club--Tribhuvan University), Prachandaman Shrestha (Under Secretary of Ministry of Tourism,Mountaineering Section) who sent me to Khumbu by appointing liaison officer for my research work. Besides

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Nepal

(Continued)

—Sylvain Levi

XI. Inscription of Dharampur

Dharampur is an old village situated between Kathmandu and Budha Nilkanth (I I, 394) facing Thoka which have given me a stela of the same epoch. The stela that bears the inscription is erected in front of a chapel of Ganeca. Only the lower portion exists; the last lines are alone well preserved; there remains the traces of twenty lines, but a great splinter has carried away the greater portion.

The inscribed portion covers a height of about 0m, 60, a width of 0m, 25; the characters measure on an average 0m, 015; the space between the lines 0m, 02. The writing has the ordinary aspect of the inscriptions of Civadeva; the letters are large, clear well cut; the only characteristic difference with Amcuvarman (exception made of the 'h' that is not met with here) consists in the redoubling of the silents after 'r'. It must however be mentioned as an innovation the procedure to note down the consonant as a last syllable; instead of being drawn up on a smaller scale below the line; it is written on the normal level, in normal size, but it is underlined by a curled dash that resembles the Sanscrit 'u' of the Devanagari, turned over on its axle.

The chart has a two fold privilege for object (1,13) the details of which are missing; yet one still see that the ingress to the village was always forbidden to the armed force, regular or irregular. The other privilege consists, it appears in a remittance of tax, in connection with the Malakara 'The Malla tax'. The same tax is also mentioned in connection with a remittance of tax in the inscription of Jisnugupta in Thánkot (1,24) and in the two passage there is a question of four pana (panacatustya); but the stela of Dharampur emphasises that it concerns copper panas (tamrapana) and expressly add 'according to the custom' (ucita). I have already recalled, in connection with the Mallakara (11,211 sq) the victorious campaign of Manadeva against Maliapuri the town of the Mallas and I have shown the analogy of the Turuska dauda, frequently named in the inscriptions of Govinda Candra of Cange. It is probable that the Mallas, forerunners of Gurkhas, who were to overthrow them one day, exercised at that time, from the western valley wherein they had installed themselves a kind of onerous suzerainty over Nepal.

The formulary of recommendation to future kings is in its greater part identical to

that of the inscriptions of Civadeva; likewise the wording, iti 'samajnapana 'which disappears with Civadeva, to be replaced by 'svayan ajna'. The date confirms all these indications; it is clearly read 500 20.

The elements 5 from 500 is exactly similar to that of the inscription of Khopasi; the sign of the hundred has here instead of the double curve (in the shape of 3) of Khopasi and Bhag. 4, a kind of S turned over on its axis.

The dutaka is the Varta Bhogacandra; I have already discovered upon the personage and the title (1,262). We know nothing of the personage; his name presents the element 'bhoga' which I have already called to attention (11,128).

Text

The first 11 lines are almost entirely abliterated, except the 4th. tabhatapravecyah sarvvakalam a ... ... In the 5th line the second character is si; in the 7th one sees bacas; in the 8th tan na; in the 9th purvvapra; in the 10th rnnac car.

12. ... ... bhyac ca Mallakara... ...
13. ... .. citatamrapanacatustayad urddhva...
14. - ...miti prassadvayam samadhikan dattam tad e
15. vamvedibhir una kaiccid idam apramanan karyyam
16. Ye py asmadurddhvam bhubhujo bhavitaras tair a
17. pi dharmagurubhir ggurukrataprassadanu
18. rodhibhir eva bhavyam iti samajnapana
19. dutakac catra varttabhogacandraah samvat
20 500 20 magha cukla dvadacyam

Translation

(4) Entry prohibited to regulars and irregulars...

(12-13)... of these, the Malla tax ... above four copper panas according to the custom.

(14-18) This important double privilege has been granted to you. Knowing thus nobody must fail to abide by this regulation. And the kings who will come after us, they also by respect for the law, respect and maintain (uphold) this favour. Such is the order.

(19-20) The delegate is here the varta Bhogacandra. Samvat 520, month of magha, clear fortnight, the 12th.

(to be continued)

(Foot Note to page 68; 'Nepal', Vol. III by S. Levi)

1. The word samajnapana is missing in the dictionary of Bohtlingk-Roth, and in the Compendium.

मुक्तिनाथ : केही ऐतिहासिक तथ्य

—रमेश ढुङ्गेल

मुक्तिनाथको प्राचीनताका विषयमा ठोस रूपले प्रकाश पार्ने सामग्रीको अभाव छ। नीलगिरी, मुक्तिनाथ हिमाल, दामोदर हिमाल जस्ता पवित्र हिमश्रृङ्खलाले घेरेको, कृष्णा गण्डकीको स्रोत स्थलको रूपमा स्कन्द-पुराण, वराहपुराण जस्ता पौराणिक ग्रन्थहरूमा मुक्ति-नाथको महिमा गाइएको छ। (योगी २०१३: पृ. १२५ मूल संस्कृत खण्ड) तर पुराण बाहेक अन्य ऐतिहासिक स्रोतमा भने मुक्तिनाथको चर्चा निकै पछिदेखि मात्र पाइन्छ। मुक्तिनाथ मन्दिर र आसपासका सांस्कृतिक र पुरातात्विक महत्वका वस्तुहरूले पनि मुक्तिनाथको प्राचीनतालाई मध्यकालभन्दा अगाडि पुऱ्याउन दिदैनन्। यसो भए तापनि यस देवस्थललाई हिन्दू तथा बौद्ध दुवैले धेरै पहिलेदेखि नै उच्च स्थान दिएर मान्दै आएको तथ्य-लाई भने भुल्न सकिदैन। हिमवत् प्रदेशका महत्वपूर्ण तीर्थस्थलहरूलाई हिन्दू जगत्मा चिनाउने काम विभिन्न पुराणहरूको माध्यमबाट भएको कुरामा दुईमत हुन सक्दैन। खासगरी भारतमा गुप्त साम्राज्यकालमा सम्पा-दन गरिएका हिन्दू पौराणिक साहित्यले यस काममा महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका खेलेको देखिन्छ। हिमालयबाट भारतीय मैदानमा झर्ने ठूलठूला गङ्गा, यमुना, गण्डक जस्ता नदीहरूको स्रोत स्थलको खोजीको क्रममा तिनका अन्य नदीहरूसंगका अनेक संगम स्थलहरूका साथै उक्त नदीका प्रस्रवण क्षेत्रका प्राकृतिक रमणीय स्थलहरूलाई हिन्दू तीर्थस्थलको रूपमा परिचित गराउने कामको प्रथम पाइला त्यसै हुनाले गुप्तकालमा चालिएको थियो भन्न सकिन्छ।

मुक्तिनाथको विषयमा भने केही तिब्बती स्रोतहरू-मा हिन्दू स्रोतभन्दा पहिले उल्लेख आएको छ। तिन-मध्ये बाह्रौं शताब्दीताकाको लद्दाखी स्रोतमा मुक्ति क्षेत्रलाई छु–ला–मे–वर, दो–ला–मे–वर भनिएको चर्चा यस प्रसङ्गमा उल्लेखनीय छ। (फ्रांके १९७२ : पृ. ३५ तिब्बती मूल पृ. ९६ अनुवाद)[1]। पानीबाट आगो बल्ने ठाउँ, ढुङ्गाबाट आगो बल्ने ठाउँ भन्नलाई यसो भनिएको हो। अझ स्थानीय मानिस तथा तिब्बतीहरू सा–ला–मे–वर, छु–ला–मे–वर र दो–ला–मे–वर (माटो, पानी र ढुङ्गाबाट आगो बल्ने) ठाउँ भनेर मुक्तिनाथको ज्वालाजीलाई चिनाउँछन् र चिन्दछन्। मुक्तिनाथको

१. लद्दाखका राजा ल्हा–छेन–उव्–पल् (वि. सं. ११३७–११६७) ले लोवो प्रदेशको छु–ला–मे–वर सम्म कब्जाएको चर्चा लद्दाखी स्रोतमा परेको छ। छु–ला–मे–वर भनेको पानीबाट आगो निस्कने (ठाउँ) हो जुन मुक्तिनाथको ज्वालाजीलाई भनिएको हो। तर फ्रांकेले तिब्बतीबाट अनुवाद गर्दा 'छु–ला–मे–वर' को अर्थ एक तलाउ भनेर गरेका छन्।

वर्तमान मन्दिर नजीकै जमीनबाट ३ थरी ज्वाला निस्कने स्थल अहिले पनि छँदैछ । त्यस ठाउँलाई हिन्दूहरूले पहिले पहिले ज्वालाजी भन्ने गर्दथे भने (वि.सं. १९६१ को सनदमा) हिजोआज ज्वालामाई। बौद्धहरूले भने उक्त ज्वाला प्रज्ज्वलित हुने ठाउँमा गोन्पा बनाएर ज्वालालाई एक बौद्ध तीर्थस्थलको रूप दिएका छन् । कुनै कुनै तिब्बती स्रोतमा मुक्ति क्षेत्रलाई "छु–मिग–ग्या–चा" भनिएको देखिन्छ । मुक्तिनाथको प्रदर्शिका (गाइड) रूपको एउटा तिब्बती पुस्तिका प्राप्त भएको छ, जसलाई "छु–मिग–व्रग्य–र्च–व्रग्यद । सुकु–छव्-गृतेर–ल्ङ । मु–ले–गङ्–गु–रू–ग्सङ–फुग–सोगस्–क्यी–दकर–छग् –ग्सल–व्र्ा–मे–ल्होङ डो–म्छर–च्यन–र्नमस् " भनिन्छ । त्यस पुस्तिकामा मुक्तिक्षेत्रसंग तिब्बती बौद्ध जगतमा ख्यातिप्राप्त तान्त्रिक सिद्ध पद्म संभवको सम्बन्ध देखाइएको छ (टुची १९५६ : पृ. १०) । यसैगरी काली-गण्डकीको स्रोत स्थल र मुक्तिक्षेत्र अन्तर्गत पर्ने अर्को वैष्णव तीर्थ स्थल "दामोदर कुण्ड" लाई पनि पद्मसंभवसंग नै सम्बन्धित गराइएको पाइन्छ (ढुंगेल २०४२ :पृ. ५) ।

स्कन्दपुराणको हिमवत् खण्ड कृष्णा गण्डकी माहात्म्यमा भने पहिले ब्रम्हाजीले मुक्तिक्षेत्रको मध्य भागमा बसेर तपस्या गरेर त्यहाँको पवित्र जलमा अग्निको आवाहन गरेर हवन गरेको र अग्नि र जल परस्परमा नमिल्ने वस्तु भए तापनि दुवै वस्तुको आश्रयमा ब्रम्हाजी बसेको कुराको चर्चा छ । पछि त्यही ठाउँमा अनेक देवताहरू पनि आई ब्रम्हाजीले हवन गरेको पञ्चामृतले युक्त हवीलाई बल्दो ज्वालाको रूप लिएर ग्रहण गरेको र यसरी अग्नीले हविको ग्रहण गर्दा जलाग्नी मूर्ति भएको हो भन्ने पनि चर्चा छ । त्यस्तै उक्त जलाग्नीमध्ये विष्णुको मूर्तिचाहिं जल हो र शिवको चाहिं अग्नि हो र त्यस पवित्र स्थलमा ब्रम्हादि देवताहरूले बास गरिरहन्छन् भन्ने पनि चर्चा "हिमवत् खण्ड" मा परेको छ (योगी, हिमवत्खण्ड : २०१३, पृ. १२६ मूल र १३० अनुवाद) ।

हिमवत्खण्डमा वर्णित उपर्युक्त चर्चाबाट पहिले–पहिले ज्वाला बाहेक अर्को मुक्तिनारायणको छुट्टै मन्दिर वा तीर्थ भएको कुरा बुझिदैन । त्यहाँ खाली पानीबाट आगोको ज्वाला निस्कन्थ्यो र त्यही आगो र अग्नि ज्वाला मध्ये पानीलाई चाहिं विष्णु (नारायण)को रूपमा र अग्निलाई चाहिं शिवको रूपमा मानिन्थ्यो भन्ने कुराको मात्र चर्चा परेको देखिन्छ । यसैगरी पुराना तिब्बती स्रोतमा पनि त्यस क्षेत्रमा छु–ला–मे–वर अर्थात् "जलाग्नी ज्वाला"को मात्र चर्चा पाइन्छ ।

यसरी हेर्दा मुक्तिनाथको मूल मन्दिर तथा आसपासका अन्य देवस्थलहरूमध्ये सर्वप्राचीन देवस्थलको रूपमा ज्वालाजीलाई मान्नु पर्ने हुन्छ। हिन्दू तथा बौद्ध दुवै स्रोतले उक्त क्षेत्रको पवित्र दैनिक स्थलको रूपमा ज्वालाजीलाई नै सर्वप्रथम देखाएको छ । यस किसिमले मुक्ति क्षेत्रका मानव निर्मित धार्मिक वस्तु तथा देवस्थलको स्थापना हुनुभन्दा सयौं–सयौं वर्ष पहिलेदेखि नै मुक्तिनारायण (विष्णु) र शिवको प्रतीकको रूपमा हिन्दूतर्फबाट र चेन–रे–जिग (लोकेश्वर)को रूपमा बौद्धतर्फबाट त्यहाँको प्राकृतिक ज्वालालाई मानिंदै आएको कुरालाई विना विवाद स्वीकार्नु पर्ने हुन्छ । तर पछि पछि आएर उक्त विष्णु र शिवको प्रतीक मानिने ज्वालास्थललाई बौद्ध गोन्पामा नै परिणत गरिएको छ र हिन्दूहरूको आकर्षण कम मात्र त्यसतर्फ रहन थालेको देखिन्छ । वास्तवमा मुक्तिनारायणको मूर्ति बनाई मुक्तिनाथको रूपमा छुट्टै मन्दिर स्थापना गरेपछि आएको परिवर्तनको रूपमा नै यस घटनालाई मान्नु पर्ला जस्तो लाग्छ । जुन घटना नेपाल एकीकरणभन्दा अगाडिको मान्ने केही ऐतिहासिक आधारहरू पाइएका छन् ।

नीलगिरी, धवलागिरि, दामोदर हिमाल जस्ता सुशोभित कृष्णागण्डकी जस्तो पवित्र नदीको स्रोत स्थल स्वच्छ र पवित्र स्थल जसलाई मुक्तिक्षेत्रको रूपमा हिन्दूहरूले महिमा गाएर आदर गरे; त्यसलाई तिब्बती र तिब्बती मूलका स्थानीय मानिसहरूले पनि उत्तिकै वर्णन तथा आदर गर्दै आएको देखिन्छ । हिन्दूहरूले भन्दा स्थानीय उत्तरी क्षेत्रका जनजातिले नै उक्त क्षेत्रलाई पहिलेदेखि तीर्थस्थलको रूपमा मान्ने गरेको कुरा ऐतिहासिक स्रोतले देखाएको छ । यसैगरी ज्वालाजीलाई बौद्ध गोन्पाभित्र पार्नेको र ज्यो–मो (भिक्षुणी) तथा लामा (भिक्षु) हरूको मुक्तिनाथ मन्दिरसंग रहिआएको सम्बन्ध तथा धार्मिक अधिकारका तथ्यहरूले पनि उपर्युक्त कुरालाई पुष्टि गर्दछ । तिब्बती बुद्धधर्म मान्ने स्थानीय

मानिसहरू मुक्तिक्षेत्रलाई फाग्–पा–चेन–रे–शिग अर्थात् आर्यावलोकेतेश्वरको निवास स्थलको रूपमा तीर्थस्थल (न्हे) मान्दछन् र मुक्तिनाथलाई चेन–रे–शिगकै रूपमा । यता हिन्दूहरू पनि विष्णु (नारायण अर्थात् लोकपाल–लोकेश्वर) कै रूपमा मान्ने गर्दछन् । यहाँनिर पहिले स्थानीय बौद्धहरूले लोकेश्वर मानेर पछि हिन्दूहरूले पनि मान्न थाले कि पहिले हिन्दूहरूले विष्णु मानेर स्थानीय बौद्धहरूले लोकेश्वर मान्न थालेका हुन् ? यस विषयमा स्पष्ट रूपमा भन्न सक्ने स्थिति छैन । तर ऐतिहासिक स्रोतले र चलिआएको परम्पराले चाहि पहिले स्थानीय बौद्धहरूले नै मान्ने गरेको कुरा देखिन आएको छ । तर हिन्दू पुराणहरूले मने हिन्दूहरूले नै पहिलेदेखि मानेको कुरालाई संकेत गरेको देखिन्छ । यस प्रसङ्गमा पुराणहरूको रचनाकाललाई पनि ध्यान दिनुपर्ने हुन्छ ।

स्कन्दपुराणको रचना कहिले भयो भन्ने विषयमा स्पष्ट रूपमा भन्न नसकिए तापनि त्यहाँ वर्णित विषयवस्तु तथा घटनाको आधारमा धेरै जसो विद्वानहरूले यसको शुरुआत इशाको सातौं शताब्दीदेखि नवौं दशौं शताब्दीसम्म भएको मान्दछन् (सिंह १९८५ : पृ. ३४–३७) । यस पुराणको हिमवत्खण्डको रचनाकाल त अझ पछिको जस्तो देखिन्छ । मुक्तिनाथ र गण्डकी माहात्म्य खण्डको रचना त झनै पर्वते मल्ल राजाहरूको शासनकालमा पर्वत राज्यमै भएको मानिन्छ (नेपाल २०४०: पृ. १३–१४)। वराह पुराणको रचनाकाल पनि इशाको दशौं शताब्दीताका नै मानिन्छ (सिंह १९८५: पृ. ३१–३४) । यसरी उपर्युक्त आधारमा मात्र हामी मुक्तिक्षेत्रको प्राचीनतालाई पूर्व मध्यकालभन्दा अगाडि पुऱ्याउन सक्दैनौं । तर पनि भारतीय भूभागलाई सिचन गर्ने पवित्र नदीहरू (गंगा, यमुना, गण्डकी, कौशिकी) का स्रोत स्थल हिमवत् प्रदेशलाई हिन्दू तीर्थस्थलको रूपमा चिन्ने चिनाउने काम केही उत्तर वैदिककालदेखि नै हुन थालेको र यस काममा उल्लेखनीय देन गुप्त साम्राज्य युगमा भएको कुरालाई मान्न सकिन्छ । भारतीय मैदानमा मुगल प्रभाव बढ्न थालेपछि विस्तार विस्तार त्यसतर्फका हिन्दू तथा बौद्ध विद्वान् पण्डितहरू साथै शासकहरूको नै पनि हिमालयका काखमा अवस्थित पहाडी प्रदेशतर्फ (खासगरी नेपालतर्फ) प्रवेश भएको कुरा स्पष्ट नै छ । त्यसैले मध्यकालको पूर्वार्द्ध देखि यस हिमवत्खण्डका तीर्थस्थलहरूको ख्याति अझ फैलिन पुग्यो । गण्डकीका सङ्गमस्थलका हरिहर क्षेत्र, रुरु क्षेत्र तथा मुक्ति क्षेत्रमध्ये रुरु क्षेत्र र मुक्तिक्षेत्रको ख्याति फैलाउने काममा पाल्पाली सेन राजा, कर्णाली प्रदेशका खसमल्ल राजा, जुम्ली कल्याल र पर्वते मल्ल राजाहरूको महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका रहेको देखिन्छ । मुक्ति क्षेत्र, गण्डकी, रुरु क्षेत्र साथसाथै बद्रीनाथको ख्याति फैलाउने काममा पनि खसमल्ल राजा र जुम्ली राजाहरूको त्यतिकै देन रहेको देखिन्छ । यसरी मध्यकालको पूर्वार्द्धमा पश्चिम नेपाल तथा दक्षिण पश्चिम तिब्बत (पूर्वमा गुङ्–थाङदेखि पश्चिममा मानसरोवर गुंगे, पुराङ क्षेत्रसम्म) साथै कुमाउँ गढवाल क्षेत्रसम्म साम्राज्य विस्तार गर्ने या–चे साम्राज्यका खसमल्ल शासकहरूको साम्राज्यमित्र पर्ने बद्रीनाथ क्षेत्र र मुक्ति क्षेत्रको हिन्दूजगतमा महिमा बढाउने काममा अवश्य यी खसमल्ल राजाहरूको प्रथम देन रहेको हुनु पर्दछ ।[2] रुरु क्षेत्रमा मुकुन्द सेन आदि पाल्पाली सेन राजाका पालामा सांस्कृतिक महत्वका वस्तुहरूले र पर्वते मल्ल राजाका शासनकालमा लेखिएका कृष्णागण्डकी माहात्म्य, कृष्णप्रभा माहात्म्य, बदरिकाश्रम माहात्म्य

२. या–चे साम्राज्यका संस्थापक नागराज र उनका वंशज तथा पुण्य मल्ल पृथ्वीमल्ल जस्ता पालवंशी राजाहरूले पूर्वमा गोरखा क्षेत्रसम्म कब्जाएको कुरा गोरखा तग–वृही गोन्पामा प्राप्त २ ताम्रपत्रले (खनाल २०३०: पृ. २–९), पश्चिममा कुमाउँ–गढवाल क्षेत्रसम्म कब्जाएको कुरा वालेश्वरको क्राचल्लको शिलालेखले र उत्तरमा पश्चिम तिब्बतको गुङ–थाङ देखि गुंगे पुराङसम्म कब्जाएको कुरा तिब्बती स्रोतले देखाएको छ । यसै गरी पर्वतका राजा शाही मल्लको श्याहा मोहरमा मुक्तिनाथ इलाकालाई "खशान प्रदेश" भनिएबाट पनि मुक्ति क्षेत्रसम्म खसमल्ल राजाहरूको अधिकार फैलिएको कुरा मान्न सकिन्छ । किनकि खसमल्ल राजाहरूले आफ्नो साम्राज्यको राजनीतिक क्षेत्र विभाजन (प्रशासनिक रूपले) गर्दा "जड्गान" र "खशान" प्रदेश भनेर गरेका थिए ।

आदिले पनि ती शासकहरूले यस क्षेत्रको महिमा बढाउने कार्यमा महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाएको कुरा स्पष्ट हुन्छ ।[३]

माथि उल्लिखित कर्णाली प्रदेशका खसमल्ल राजाहरूको या–चे साम्राज्यको पन्ध्रौं शताब्दीको शुरुतिर विखण्डन भएपछि उक्त कर्णाली प्रदेशमा खडा भएको जुम्ला राज्यले मुक्तिनाथ इलाकासम्म आफ्नो अधिकार गरेको थियो । यसले लोवो (मुस्ताङ) राज्यलाई कदर गरेको थियो । कल्याल्वंशी यी जुम्ली राजाहरूले आफ्नो इष्ट देवताको रूपमा बद्रीनाथ र मुक्तिनाथलाई ज्यादै उच्च स्थलमा राखेर सम्मान गरेका थिए । यी जुम्ली राजाका श्याहामोहरको शिरोभागमा "श्री बद्रीनाथो जयति । श्री मुक्तिनाथ सहाय" भन्ने लेखिएको पाइनाले यस कुरामा विश्वस्त हुन सकिन्छ ।[४] यी कल्यालवंशी जुम्ली राजाहरू पहिलेका खसमल्ल राजाहरूका सामन्त तथा नजीकका नातेदारहरू पनि थिए । त्यसैले खसमल्ल राजाहरूको प्रभावले जुम्लीहरूले पनि मुक्तिनाथ र बद्रीनाथलाई इष्टदेवता मानेको हुनुपर्दछ । मुक्तिनाथ क्षेत्रमाथि जुम्लीहरूको अधिकार भए तापनि बद्रीनाथ त जुम्लीहरूको राज्यभन्दा धेरै टाढा थियो । त्यसैले बद्रीनाथलाई आफ्नो इष्टदेव बनाउनमा पनि जुम्लीहरुलाई तिनै पहिलेका खस राजाहरूको परम्पराले प्रभावित तुल्याएको हुनु पर्दछ । यसै गरी पर्वते मल्ल राजाहरू त सोझै खसमल्ल राजाहरूकै वंशज भएकोले र आफ्नै राज्य गण्डकी प्रस्रवण क्षेत्रमा फैलिएकोले गण्डकी माहात्म्यको साथै बद्रिकाश्रम माहात्म्य समेत लेखाउने काम गरेका थिए ।

कर्णाली प्रदेशका खसमल्ल राजाहरू हिन्दू र बौद्ध दुवै धर्म मान्दथे र संस्कृत, तिब्बती र खस (पर्वते भाषा हुँदै हिजोआज नेपाली) तीनै थरी भाषाको प्रयोग गर्दथे । त्यसैले तिब्बती बौद्ध परम्परा र हिन्दू परम्परा दुवैको ज्ञान उनीहरूमा हुनाले मुक्तिनाथलाई तिब्बती परम्पराको चेन–रे–शिग (अवलोकितेश्वर) तथा हिन्दू परम्पराको मुक्तिनारायण (विष्णु) दुवै रूपमा मान्यता दिने र पूजा प्रार्थना गर्ने परम्परा पहिले उनीहरूले नै चलाएको हुनुपर्दछ । यसरी मध्यकालभन्दा पहिले मुक्तिनाथको ख्याति हिन्दू जगतमा व्याप्त फैलिएको थिएन। पछि मात्र क्रमशः पश्चिमका खसमल्ल, जुम्लीकल्याल र पर्वते मल्ल शासकहरूको माध्यमबाट तिब्बतीहरूको साला –मे–वर–छु–ला–मे–वर (चेन–रे–शिग) ले मुक्तिनारायणको रूपमा धेरै ख्याति प्राप्त गरेको बुझिन्छ ।[५] अझ यस देवस्थलको हिन्दू जगत्मा ख्याति शाहकालदेखि बढ्यो । यसो भए तापनि एकीकरण पूर्व मुक्तिनाथको मन्दिर तथा मूर्तिको स्थापना भएको उल्लेख भने पाइएको छ । पहिलेदेखि नै मुक्तिनारायणको रूपमा उक्त स्थलको अग्नि ज्वालासंगैको पवित्र जललाई नै मानिन्थ्यो भन्ने कुरा हिमवत्खण्डमा वर्णित तथ्यका आधारमा माथि नै उल्लेख गरियो । मुक्तिनाथको वर्तमान मन्दिर त शाहकालको हो, त्यसमा सन्देह छैन । तर मुक्तिनारायण–को तामाको मूर्ति भने त्यसभन्दा केही अगाडिकै भन्न सकिन्छ । त्यसैले जुम्ली कल्यालहरूका समयमा मुक्तिनाथको छुट्टै मूर्ति स्थापना गरेर मन्दिर बनाइएको थियो कि भन्ने अनुमान सजिलै हुन्छ । त्यसो भए तापनि पहिलेको मन्दिरकै ठाउँमा पुनः शाहकालमा नयाँ मन्दिर बनेको हुनुपर्दछ ।

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३. यस सन्दर्भमा वाल्मिकीय रामायणको रामाश्वमेधकाण्डमा वर्णित नीलगिरि तथा मुक्तिनाथको चतुर्भुज नारायणको चर्चा र तत् सम्बन्धी चाखलाग्दो विवरणलाई पनि भुल्न सकिंदैन । तर उक्त वर्णन पछि थपिएको हो वा मूलमै वर्णित हो भन्ने विषयमा भने विवाद नै छ ।

४. जुम्ली राजा वीरभद्र शाही, मुख शाह आदिका यस्ता केही श्याहा मोहरहरू यस लेखका अन्वेषकले पनि सङ्कलन गरेको छ र केही परवर्ती अन्वेषकहरूले पनि ।

५. माथि उल्लिखित पर्वते राजा शाही मल्लको श्याहा मोहरमा मुक्तिनाथ जाने जोगी, सन्यासी, ब्राह्मण आदि तीर्थयात्रीलाई आदर गर्नू, अन्न डाडरा दिनू, मिठो कुरा बोल्नू, सहयोग गर्नू .... " भन्ने व्यहोरा परेको छ । यसबाट मुक्तिनाथको ख्याति फैलाउने र तीर्थयात्रीहरूलाई सुविधा पुऱ्याउने काममा पर्वते मल्ल राजाहरूले भूमिका खेलेको थियो भन्ने कुरा बुझिन्छ ।

मुक्तिनाथ...

जसरी मन्दिरको रूप शाहकालभन्दा अगाडिको पाइएको छैन । त्यसै गरी मुक्तिनाथसंग सम्बन्धित गुठी, पाटी–पौवा आदिको पनि ऐतिहासिक प्रमाणले सर्वप्रथम श्री ५ रणबहादुर शाहबाट हालको म्याग्दी जिल्लामा पर्ने राखु क्षेत्रमा मुक्तिनाथ जाने बाटोमा एउटा पौवा बनाउन लगाई फलफूल बगैंचा समेत लगाएर मुक्तिनाथ जाने तीर्थयात्रीहरूलाई फलफूल बाँड्ने र बास बस्ने प्रबन्ध गराएको देखिन्छ (योगी २०२२ : पृ. ६५८) । उक्त घटना वि. सं. १८६२ भन्दा अगाडिको ठहर्छ । त्यसपछि वि. सं. १८६३ मा रणबहादुरकै माहिला महारानी सुवर्णप्रभाबाट मुक्तिनाथको दर्शन समेत गरेर मुक्तिनाथमै एउटा विशाल पौवा बनाउन लगाई राखुमा प्रशस्त जग्गा गुठी समेतको व्यवस्था भएको थियो (वज्राचार्य र श्रेष्ठ २०३७ : पृ. ४२३–२४)। वि. सं. १८६६ मा श्री ५ गीर्वाण युद्धबाट पहिले श्री ५ रणबहादुरबाट स्थापना गराएको पौवा र गुठीलाई विस्तार गरी गुठीको जग्गाको क्षेत्र बढाइएको थियो (योगी २०२२ : पृ. ६५८) । त्यस्तै पछि वि. सं. १८८६ मा पर्वतको कुश्माचौरमा श्री ५ राजेन्द्रबाट मुक्तिनाथ जाने यात्रुहरूका निम्ति एउटा अर्को पौवा र फलफूल बगैंचाको व्यवस्था गराएको थियो । त्यसमा पनि पछि वि. सं. १८९४ सालमा केही जग्गा गुठीको रूपमा श्री ५ राजेन्द्रबाटै थप भएको थियो (श्रेष्ठ २०४२ : पृ. ९०–९१) ।

मुक्तिनाथको उपर्युक्त गुठीका गुठीयारको रूपमा श्री ५ रणबहादुरका माहिला महारानी सुवर्णप्रभाका तर्फका राजकुमार चौतरिया रणोध्योत शाह र उनका सन्ततिहरू देखिन्छन् । उनीहरूलाई पछि पछि वसन्तपुर चौतरिया भनिन्थ्यो । उनीहरूबाटै मुक्तिनाथ पौवाका हाकिम डिठ्ठाको नियुक्ति हुन्थ्यो । मुक्तिनाथको गुठीको हर हिसाब उनीहरूकै वसन्तपुर तहविलमा दाखिला हुने व्यवस्था थियो । त्यसैले पाटी–पौवा, धर्मशाला, मन्दिर, बाटो, घाटो, पाठ–पूजा, सदावर्त, गुठी प्रशासन आदि सम्पूर्ण व्यवस्था यिनै वसन्तपुर चौतरियाको निर्देशनमा चल्दथ्यो । चौतरिया वृद्ध पराक्रम शाह, चौतरिया शमशेर जङ्ग पराक्रम शाह, चौतरिया केशरीजङ्ग पराक्रम शाह-हरूको नाम मुक्तिनाथको गुठीका सञ्चालक र व्यवस्थापक-को रूपमा ऐतिहासिक कागजपत्रमा देखिएको छ । मुक्तिनाथका पौवाका हाकिम डिठ्ठाका रूपमा प्रायः मुस्ताङ झारकोट (बाह्र गाउँ) का ठि–थोग–पा विष्टहरूले काम गरेको तथ्य पनि तात्कालिक चिठ्ठीपत्रहरूबाट पाइएको छ। यसै गरी मुक्तिनाथको गुठी चलाउने काममा वसन्तपुर चौतरिया बाहेक स्थानीय कर्मचारीमा उपल्लापौवामा डिठ्ठा १, पौवाली १, वहिदार १, दाउरे २, हिउँ फाल्ने कामदार १ र १ जना पुजारी ब्रा.म्हण, १ जना पूजा सुसारे तथा लामा ज्योमोहरू हुन्थे। यस बाहेक तल्लो पौवा (राखुस्थित) वेग्लै प्रशासनको व्यवस्था थियो । १ जना चिताइदार बाहेक अरूको स्पष्ट उल्लेख नपाइए तापनि तल्लो पौवामा मुक्तिनाथ गुठीको राखु अमाल नामक अड्डा नै भएको चर्चा सामग्रीमा परेको छ । तर मुख्य हाकिमचाहि उपल्ला पौवाका डिठ्ठालाई नै मानिन्थ्यो ।

यहाँ मुक्तिनाथ विषयमा अध्ययनका निमित्त अत्यन्त उपयोगी केही अप्रकाशित सामग्रीहरू परिशिष्टमा समावेश गरिएका छन् । जसमध्ये वसन्तपुर चौतरिया केशरीजङ्ग पराक्रम शाहले उपल्लापौवाका नाउँमा वि. सं. १९३१ र वि. सं. १९६० मा जारी गरेको मुक्तिनाथको गुठी व्यवस्था, पाठपूजा परम्परा र सञ्चालन तथा स्याहार संभार आदि विषयमा विस्तृत विवरण प्रस्तुत गर्ने सनदहरू बढी उपयोगी छन् । यिनै पत्रहरू र सनदका आधारमा वि. सं. १९६१ भन्दा पहिले र हिन्दू विधिले मुक्तिनाथको नैमित्यिक पूजा चल्ने परम्परा नभएको तथ्य थाहा पाइएको छ । त्यस्तै उक्त मन्दिरमा त्यसभन्दा पहिले स्थानीय लामा ज्योमोहरूले मात्र आफनै परम्पराले बत्ती बाल्ने, पानी चढाउने आदि उपासना गर्ने परम्परा भएको कुराको पनि जानकारी पाइएको छ । त्यसपछि हिन्दू र स्थानीय लामा ज्योमो (बौद्ध) दुवै परम्पराले पूजाआजा गर्ने परम्परा अध्यावधि कायमै छ । यसरी नेपालमा धार्मिक सहिष्णुताको ज्वलन्त नमूना मुक्तिनाथको परम्पराले देखाएको छ ।

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परिशिष्ट १

श्री मुक्तिनाथ

१. स्वस्ति श्री मच्चौतरिया वीर वृद्धपराक्रम साहकस्य पत्रम्—

२. आगे. डिठ्ठा घुंग्याल विस्टके असिष उप्रान्त... का सदावर्तको तैले प ठायाको ४

३. सालको वहि बुझ्दा १९०० सालको डंड कुंड वाहेक रापि रसिद गरिदियाको छु अव

४. उप्रान्त वहि बुझाउन पठाउंदा द्वान्यालाई पनि पठाउन्या गर. तल्ला पौवा मनी

५. वधैचा बनाउनु भनि दसषत गरिपठायाको छ. तजवीज वाधि झारा लगाइ चा

६. डो तयार गर. औ छाकीजगाका कुरालाई. २ पल्ट दसषत लेषि डाकी पठाउद्रा.

७. त पनी आइनस. मोहडा पनी पठाइनस् जगा लिनाको मन्सुवा नराषि. अर्जि लेषि

८. पठाइछस तैपनि पुरानु चाकर होस आउलास भनि जेठ महिनासम्म जगा रा

९. षि दियाको थियो. त आइनस् वहि बुझाउन आउन्या तेरा मानीस हेरुसित अ

१०. रुले दिया वमोजिमको मोहडा दिन सक्छौकी भन्दा. अरुले दियाको वमोजि त

११. हामी दिन सक्तौन हामिले ल्यायाको छैन भन्या जवाफ दिया र. जगा उठयो

१२. तेसतर्फ अरूकाम परि आयो भन्या त हाम्रो छदैछस् ईती सम्वत् १९०१ साल मि

१३. ति जेष्ट शुदी ८ रोज ७ शुभम्—

१) टशि विष्ट वा सुब्बा टशि थोवग्याल विष्ट

स्रोत: से– आंग्याल, कागवेगी

परिशिष्ट २

श्री

श्री मुक्तिनाथ

१. स्वस्ति श्री मच्चौतरिया सम्सेरजङ्ग साहकस्य पत्रम्—

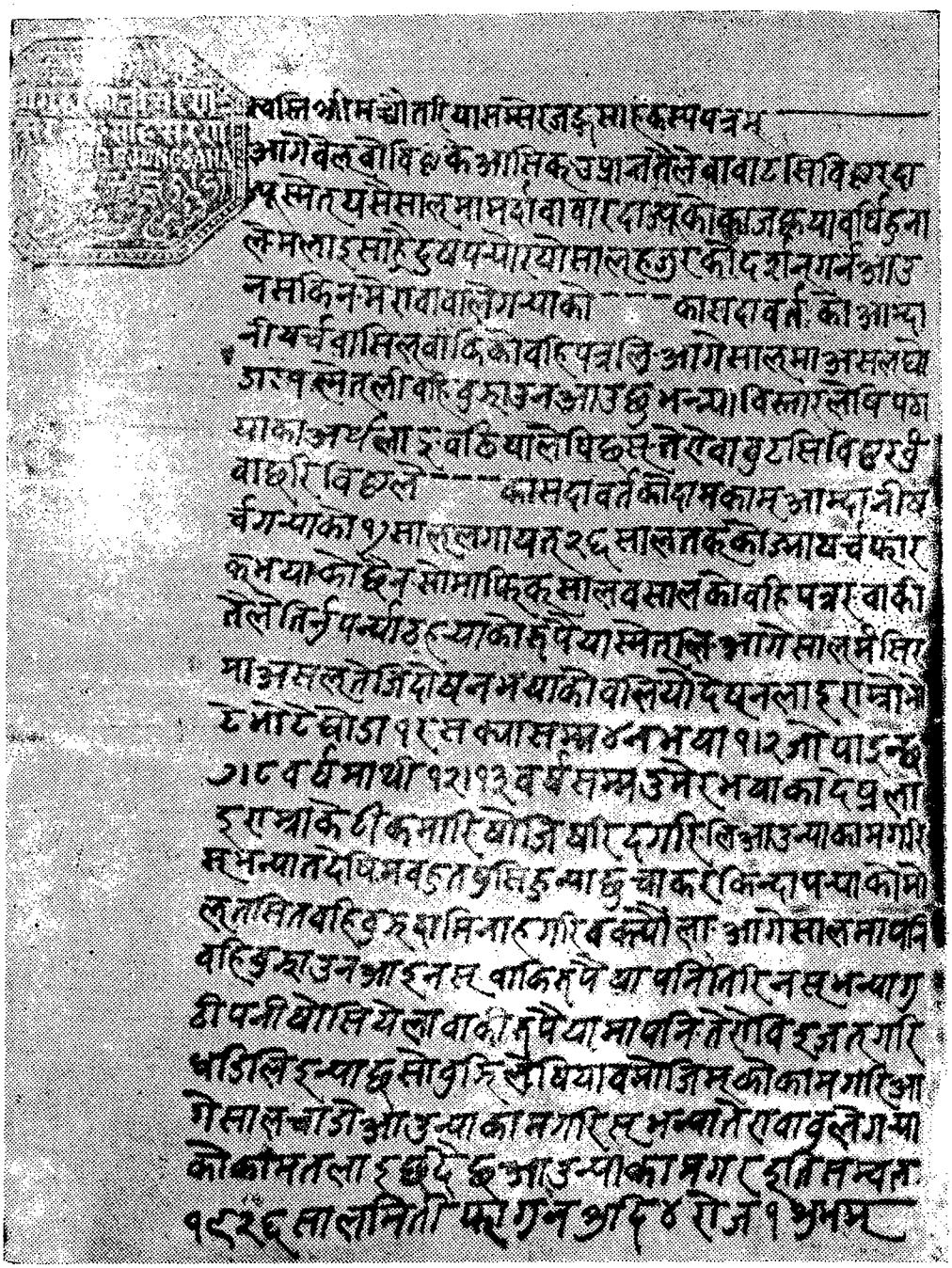
२. आगे वेल्बो विष्टको आसिक् उप्रान्त तैले वावा टशि विष्ट र दा

३. ज्यू स्मेत यसै सालमा मर्दा वावा र दाज्यूको काज कृया वार्षिक हुना

४. ले. मलाई साह्रै दुष पर्‍यो र यो साल हजुरको दर्शन गर्न आउ

५. न सकिन. मेरा वावाले गर्‍याको .....का सदावर्तको आम्दा

६. नी षर्च वसिल वांकिको वहि पत्र लि. आगे सालमा असल घो



परिशिष्ट १

वि. सं. १९२६ मा मुक्तिनाथका गुठियार चौतरिया शमशेरजङ्ग शाहले मुक्तिनाथ उपल्ला फौवाका डिठ्ठा वेल्वो विष्टका नाउँमा जारी गरेको सनद

७. डा समेत् ली वहि वुझाउन आउछु भन्या विस्तार लेषि पठा

८. याका अर्थलाई वढिया लेषिछस्. तेरो वावु टसि विष्ट र चुं

९. वा छरि विष्टले..... का सदावर्तको दामकाम्. आम्दानी ष

१०. चं गर्याको १७ साल लगायत् २६ साल तकको ज्मा खर्च फार

११. क् भन्याको छैन. सो माफिक सालवसालको वहिपत्र र वाकी

१२. तैले तिनुं पर्न्या ठहर्न्याको रूपैया स्मेत् लि. आगे साल मंसिर

१३. मा असल तेजि दोषन भयाको वलियो देषनलाई राम्रो मो

१४. टे घोडा १ र. सक्या सम्म ४ र नभया १।२ जो पाइन्छ

१५. ७।८ वर्ष माथी १२।१३ वर्ष सम्म उमेर भयाका देष्न ला

१६. इ राम्रा केटी कमारि. षोजि षरिद गरि. लि आउन्या काम गरि

१७. स् भन्या त देषि म वहुत षुसि हुन्याछु चाकर किन्दा पन्याको मो

१८. ल् तसित वहि वुझ्दा मिनाह गरि वक्स्यौंला. आगे सालमा पनि

१९. वहि वुझाउन आइनस्. वाकिरुपैया पनि तिरिनस् भन्या नु

२०. ठी पनी षोसियेला वाकी रुपैयामा पनि. तेरो विइजत गरि

२१. घडि लिइन्या छ सो वुझि लेषिया वमोजिम्को काम गरि आ

२२. गे साल चाडो आउन्या कामगरिस भन्या तेरो वावु ले गर्या

२३. को काम तलाइ छंदैछ आउन्या काम गर इति सम्वत्

२४. १९२६ साल मिती फागुन शुदि ४ रोज १ शुभम्—

स्तः से— छिमि दोर्जे झारकोटो, मुक्तिनाथ

परिशिष्ट ३

श्री केश श्री

रीजङ्ग पराक्र श्री मुक्तिनाथ

म शाहको १

छाप

१. स्वस्ति श्री मच्चौतरीया के (शरीजङ्ग पराक्र) म साह कस्य पत्रम्—

२. आगे १ का उपल्ला पौवाको गुठियार. डिठा वेलवु विष्टके यथोचित उंप्रा

३. न्त. हाम्रा विर्ता. टुक्च्या गुंवामा ज्ञान लि टुपि काटि. झिस्यामै वस्याकी झु

४. म्यालाई. टुक्च्या वस्न्या. सिपालु तन्जिन् षम्वाको छोरा. ल्हाक्पा. भंन्या

५. ले. निज झुंस्या पानि लीन. पध्यारामा गयाकीजाई पध्यारैवाट टिपि

६. लगी. स्वास्नी तुल्याई. राषेछ र. हाम्रा रितमा पुग्याको झुमालाई. तिमिले

७. स्वास्नि तुल्यायापछि. हाम्रा गुंवाका लालमोहर. वमोजि तिमिलाई. डंड ला

८. ग्छ भनि. हामिले. निज ल्हाक्पालाई. तगैंदा [redacted] तिदिन भनि. जवरजस्ति

९. झेल गरि. डंडका रुपैंन्ना दियेन. गुंवा[redacted] गरि-वक्स्याको लालमोहरको

१०. रित विगारि. दियो झेमु विगार्न्या सित. डंडलीन पाउन्या हुं भनि. टुक्च्या

११. गुम्वाको लामा निल्द ध्याल्पो र डीठ्ठा झेम्यां छोमो. ले. परिदार धर्मदत्त उ

१२. पाध्यालाई. लेष्याका चिठिले. हाम्रा हघुर्वा जाहेर. भयो तनर्थ वे

१३. होरा येहि. हो भन्या. ज्ञान ली टुपि काटि गुंवामा वसि सक्याकि. (झुमा)

१४. विगार्न्या निज ल्हाक्पालाई पक्रि. गुंवाका लाल-मोहर. वमोजि. को थि

१५. ति. थामि अयन्. वमोजिको. डंड लि. निज. गुंवाका लामा र. डीठ्ठा. झेम्यां.

१६. छिमो. हस्ते. वुझाइ. भर्पाइ. लीनु. वेहोरा अर्कै रहेछ भन्या. निज लामा र डि

१७. ठा. झेम्यां छोमो. र निज. ल्हाक्पा. झिम्स्या. लाई. झिकि पुर्पक्षे. जोरि. अ

१८. यन. वमोजि. निसाफ. गरि. यो झगडा छिनिदे. ताहा छिन्न. सकिदैन.

१९. भन्या. २ थर. झगरि.या. जोरि. आहा पठाइदे. अ.य . वमोजी. झगडा छि

२०. नि जानन्. ताहा पनि. छिनिदिनस्. आहां पनि. जोरि पठा. इनस्. भ.

२१. न्या र. पनपक्षे. माया मोलाजा पछि. लागी. निसाफ विगारि. छिन्या

२२. को ठहऱ्यो भन्या. हाम्रा. विर्ता गुवाको. झगडाले, अयन्. वमोजि. तैले.

२३. बुझाउनु पर्ला. सो बुझि निसाफ. राहापारि. झगडा छिनिदे. इति सम्वत् १९३७

२४. मिति पौष शुदि ११ रोज ३ शुभम्—

नाप: ३६×२१.२ से. मी.

स्रोत: से–छिमि दोर्जे, मुक्तिनाथ, झार्कोट ।

परिशिष्ट ४

श्री केश श्री मुक्तिनाथ श्री नृसिंभ श्री ज्वालाजी
री जङ्ग परा १ २ ३
क्रम शाहको
छाप

१. स्वस्ति श्री मच्चौतरिया केशरी जङ्ग पराक्रम साह कस्य पत्रम्—

२. आगे ···१···का सदावर्त गुठी उपल्ला पौवाका डीठा के यथोचित् उप्रान्त १ को नित्य पुजा

३. गर्नालाइ पुजाहारी राषि नित्य पुजा गर्नु भंन्या अघी नठेकियाको र. जो कोही मंदीर भीत्र

४. पसि फोहर गर्न्या तिर्थ वासिहरूले चह्रायाको भेटी घाटी भने लामा झुमाहरूले षान्या

५. सुघर सफा भने नगर्ने हुंदा अब उप्रान्त बन्देज रहोस् भंन्ना नीमित्त हाल ६१ साल राम नौ

६. मी देषी १ को नित्य पुजालाइ र. सोपुजाको भाडाहरू स्मेत् संकल्प गरि हामि वाट राषि

७. वक्स्याको छ हीमालको ठाउ हुनाले राम नौमि चैत्र सुदि ९ देषि कार्तिक सुदि १५ तक

८. मैह्ना ७ दिन ७ लाइ तपसिल्मा लेषीया वमोजीम्-को पुजा सराजाम् वाट नीत्य पु

९. जा चलाउनु. चौमास पाठ गरेको सात्विक वमोजिम् को दक्षीणा र पुजाहारी टहलु

१०. वा को सिधा जागीर पाषी दोचा वषु धोति को नगदि स्मेत् सनद वमोजीम् तपसिल् मा

११. लेषीयाको नगद जिन्सी साल वसाल वेला वषत्मा उपल्ला पौवा. को डिठा संग बुझी लि

१२. नीत्य पुजा चलाइ १ सात्विक वमोजिम् चौमास पाठ गरि षानु षुवाउनु. सो नित्य पु

१३. जा. को. भाँडा बुझी लिदा बुझाउदा र भेटी घाटी गहना भाँडा माल मत्ता. साछी वस्ने कुरा स्मे

१४. त् चाहीने तपसिल्मा लेषी वक्स्याको छ सो लेषीया वमोजिम् गर्न्या काम गर

१५. भनि वागलु वस्न्या पंडीत हरिप्रसाद पाध्याय का नाउमा हामी वाट दस्षत् गरि वक्स्या

१६. को छ. तपसिलमा लेषीया वमोजिम्को पुजा सराजाम्. चौमास पाठ गरेको सात्विक

१७. वमोजिम्को दक्षिणा पुजाहारि टहलुवा को सिधा जागीर पाषी दोया वषु धोति

१८. को नगदि स्मेत् साल वसाल १ का उपल्ला पौवा का आम्दानि वाट नीज पुजा हा

१९. री लाइ मैन्हा मैन्हा मा र. वेला वषत् मा दि भर्पाइ लीनु वही बुझदा निजका भर्पाइ र

२०. यही दस्षत् वमोजिम् मीन्हा होला नित्य पुजा को भाडा. भेटी घाटी गहना भाडा माल्

२१. मत्ता. साछी वस्ने कुरा स्मेत् गैह तपसिलमा लेषीया वमोजिम् कत्तीफरक नपा

२२. री गर्नु. गर्न लाउनु. लेषीया वमोजिम् नगरि लो भानि पापानि गरि पाया षुदा

२३. या को र. पुजा वंशीन गरेको स्मेत् ठहऱ्यो भन्या अैन वमोजिम् सजाये भै काम वा

२४. ट स्मेत तुरंत षारेज हुनेछ. सो जानी लेषीया वमोजिम् गर्ने गराउने काम गर

तपसिल

२५. ··· १ ·· का स्थानमा हीमालयेको ठाउ हीउद भर ज्यादा हयू पर्ने हुनाले

२६. रामनौमी देषी पुजा चलाइ मार्ग वदि १ देषी वन्द

गर्नु पर्ने हुनाले य

२७. ही साल चैत्र सुदि ९ देखि कार्तिक सुदि १५ तक मैन्हा ७ दिन ७ को नीत्य

२८. पुजालाइ चाहीने पुजा सराजाम् र चौमास पाठ गरेको पाठको सार्विक

२९. वमोजिम् को दक्षिणा र पुजाहारि टलुवा को सिधा जागीर वषु दोंचा पा

३०. षी धोति को मोल. स्मेत साल वसाल गंन्ती गर्न्या गंती गरि भर्न्या भरि जोषन्या जो

३१. षी पुजाहारि लाइ वुझाइ भर्पाइ ली नीत्य पुजा चलाउन लाउनु—

३२. सो मैन्हा ७ दिन ७ को ···१··· मा नीत्य पुजा आरती के—

३३. आसामी नगदी मोरु	रोज १ को	मैन्हा १ का दिन ३० को	मैन्हा ७ दिन ७ को ज्मा दिन २१७ के—
३४. श्री षंड के	।.।३—	।२।१२—	१।६२।३
३५. सिधुर के	।.।३—	।२।१२—	१।६२।३
३७. सिगो सुपारि के	।.।१—	।७।२—	।५४।१
३७. अविर के	।.।२—	।१५—	१।८।२
३८. कपुर के	।.।२—	।१५—	१।८।२
३९. आरति स्मेत के घ्यू वत्ति के	।३—	।९०—	६।५१
४०. फुल के	।२—	।६०—	४।३४
४१. भेटी के	।१—	।३०—	२।१७
४२. अष्ट सुगंध धुलो धुप			
४३. र घ्यू स्मेत के	।१—	।३०—	२।१७
४४. वेलुका आरति स्मेत् के नै			
४५. वेद के	।३—	।९०—	६।५१
४६. जौ तिल् के	।.।२—	।१५—	१।८२
४७. दियो के वत्ति के	।१—	।३०—	२।१७
४८. पंचामृत के	।२—	।६०—	४।३४
४९. झमाल वगाम२के	×—	×—	।४०
	।१६।१	४।८७।२	३५।६६।१
जीन्सी			
५०. अक्षताके चावल	।.।.।२—	।.।६—	।५।३।४

५१. नीत्य पुजा र चौमास भर पाठ गर्ने ब्राम्हण १ के—

५२. नगदि मोहरु— ७८।६६

५३. मंदीरमा चौमास पाठ् गरेको पाठको द

५४. क्षीणा सार्विक वमोजिम् पैसा २० गंदी

५५. रु ४२ के २५ गंदीले मोरु— ३३।६६

५६. वषु दोचा पाषि के सार्विक चौमास

५७. पाठ् गर्दा दीयाको मोरु ३ मा हाल नी

५८. त्य पुजा पुजदा ठप् (थप) मोरु ५ स्मेत ज्मा ८।

५९. सो नीत्य पुजा गर्दा लाउनाके धोती २ के २।

६०. मैन्हा ७ दिन ७ सम्म पुजा गर्न्याको जागीर ३५।

६१. सिधा सार्विक चौमास पाठ् गर्दा मैन्हा ४ को दि

६२. आयाको मा हाल मैन्हा ७ दिन ७ सम्म नीत्य पुजा

६३. थपिदा ठप् (थप) मैन्हा ३ दिन ७ स्मेत ज्मा मैन्हा ७ दिन

६४. ७ को जोगी सरह रोजको चावल ।.।२ मास ।.।.।५ नुन्

६५. दिन २० को ।.।१ वेसार दिन ३० को ।.।१ घ्यू रोजको

६६. तोला २ दारुवा चाहीने माफिकका दरले दिनु

६७. पुजा सुसारे जना १ के ऐ मैन्हा ७ दिन ७ को पुजा हारिलाई दिया

६८. वमोजिम् सिधा सराजाम दिनु—

६९. सो मैन्हा ७ दिन ७ सम्म नीत्य पुजा गरिज्याल सम्म लाइ कसैलाई छुन नदि

७०. नीत्य पुजा गर्न लाउनु. नित्य पुजा सिधीया पछि चोषो नीती भै आयाका लाइ

७१. ···१··· को पाउना डंडवट् गर्नु दिनु. अछुति जात् लाइ र. पर सरेकि स्वास्नी मा

७२. नीसलाई मंदीर भीत्र पसन नदिनु—

७३. ···१··· को दर्सन गर्न आउने छोटा वडा गैहले सो मैन्हा ७ दिन ७ सम्म मा चह्रा

७४. याको भेटी घाटी गहना भाडा माल मत्ता हरू गैह मध्ये गहना भाडा माल्

७५. मत्ता हरू जति ···१··· का जगेरा ढुकुटी दाषिल् गर्न पौवाका डीठा जीम्मा

७६. बुझाइ भर्पाइ लीनु. भेटी घाटी जति अघी पुजाहारि नहुदा परा पुर्व देषी

७७. २ षंड लामा ले र १ षंड झुमा हरूले षाइ आयाकोमा हाल पुजाहारि रहेको

७८. हुनाले सो लामाले षाने २ षंड मध्ये १ षंड झिकि पुजाहारि लाइ वक्स्याको छ. अब

७९. उप्रान्त ···१··· मा चह्रायाको भेटी घाटी जति हुंछ तस्को ३ षंडको १ षंड झुमा हरू ला

८०. इ र १ षंड लामालाइ दि बाकि १ षंड पुजाहारिले षानु. सो भेटी घाटी हरू वा

८१. ड्दा. लामा झुमा पौवा को डीठा राषी वाड्नु. नीज पुजाहारीले पुजा नगर्‍याका

८२. मैन्हाको भेटी घाटी. सात्विक मा झुमा हरूले १ षंड मात्र षाइ मंदीर मंदीरमा

८३. परेको हिउ वरावर फालनु पर्ने हुनाले थप् १ षंड स्मेत् ज्मा २ षंड झुमाहरू

८४. ले र १ षंड लामाले षानु. सो पुजाहारीले पुजा नगर्‍याका मैन्हामा चह्राउन ल्याया

८५. को गहना भाडा माल मत्ता हरू गैह्र सोही ···१··· को जगेरा ढुकुटी दाषिल गर्ने पौवा का डीठा जिम्मा लामा झुमाहरूले वुझाइ भर्पाइ लीनु सो लेषीया वमोजिम् का भाडा गहना माल मत्ताहरू नवुझाइ दवाइ षायाको थहर्‍यो भन्या जसले

८६. दवाइ षायाको छ उसलाइ अैन् वमोजिम् सजाये होला भनि र ·· २३ ··· को

८७. सात्विक दरि चलि आया वमोजिम् पुजा आजा गरि ताहाको भेटी घाटी तिमि ला

८८. मा झुमा हरूले सात्विक षाइ आया वमोजिम् गरि वाडी षानु भनि नीज पुजा

८९. हारि र. लामा झुमा हरूका नाउमा स्मेत् हामी वाट गरि वक्स्याका दस्षत् मा लेषी

९०. वक्स्याको छ सो माथी लेषीया वमोजिम् गर्नु. गर्न लाउने काम गर्नु—

९१. ·· १ ·· को दर्सन गर्न आउने जात्रु तीर्थ वासिहरू षुसि राजीले हामी दान द

९२. क्षीणा पाठ पुजा पुराण जय होम् तिर्थ श्राद्ध गर्छु मन्यो भन्या वि

९३. धि पुर्वक निज पुजाहारि बाट गराइ दिनु. र श्रद्धा-वाट जो दियाको दान

९४. दक्षीणा लीन लाउनु. कर लगाउन. नदिनु—

९५. ताहा सदावर्त वाड्दा निज पुजाहारि लाई साछि राषी वाड्नु रोजना मा

९६. सो सिधा वाडेका तिपत्र स्याहामा मिति मितिमा निज पुजा हारिको सा

९७. छीको सही छाप गराउनु. नीज पुजा हारिले पुजा नगर्‍याका मैन्हा को सावीक व

९८. मोजिम् पौवालि को मात्र सही छाप गराउनु ·· १ ·· को गहना भाडा माल्

९९. मत्ता हरू नावेदाव गर्दामा पनि नीज पुजाहारि लाइ साछी राषी दावेदा

१००. दाम गर्नु—

१०१. सो नित्य पुजाके हामि वाट संकल्प गरि राषि वक्स्याको देहायका मा

१०२. डाहरू ··· १ ·· का पुजाहारि जीम्मा वुझाइ भर्पाइ लिनु सो मैन्हा ७ दिन ७

१०३. सम्म नित्य पुजा चलाइ सके पछि नीज पुजाहारि संग सावुद फिर्ता

१०४. वुझि लि भर्पाइ दिनु—

१०५. ढलौटे नैवेद पात्र—	१	वृगुढी स्मेतको अर्घा—	१
१०६. ऐं पंच पात्र—	२	ऐं स्मेतको संष—	१
१०७. ऐं आचमनि—	१	ढलौटे धुपौरो—	१
१०८. ऐं ठाडो दियो—	१		
१०९. ऐं २मुखे चंदनघोरी	१	नीरमल थापने पितलेवाटा	१
११०. ऐं घंट—	१	वजाउने संष—	१
१११. ऐं कलस—	१	तावाको सागरि—	१
११२. ऐं ५ मुषे आरति—	१	अैना हर्ने—	१
११३. ऐं पंचामृत के कचौरा—	१	तावाका डाठ् स्मेत्को मजुर पंषा—	१
११४. ऐं को नौ प्वालको पुजा थालि—	१	ऐं स्मेतको जवर पंषा—	१

११५. ढोकामा नाउने नेपाली फला

११६. मे तालचा जोर— १ × × ×

११७. ... १... को नीत्य पुजा गर्दा वेहान वेलुकाको आरति के र दियो के स्मेत् घ्यू वत्ति

११८. के हामि वाट ठेकी वक्स्याको रोजको पैरु ।४ को सो उपल्ला पौवा को सदा

११९. वर्त लाइ दोवा गाउवाट आउने घ्यूले नपुगी षरिद गर्नु पर्दा मोरु १ को धानि

१२०. १९ का दर ले षरिद गरि काम चलाइ आयाको हुनाले अव पनि सो पैरु ।४

१२१. को दोवा गाउका मुषीया चौतारे हरू संग मोरु १ को धानि १ का दरले घ्यू

१२२. नै षरिद गरि मैन्हा मैन्हामा पुजाहारि लाइ वुझाइ दिनु. नगदि नदीनु

१२३. ... १ ... प्रिति गरि हामि वाट चढाइ वक्स्याको देहायका सैया सराजाम हरू

१२४. नीत्य वेलुका को आरति सिधीया पछि दुरुस्त गरि माजी ... १ ... को अगा

१२५. डी राषना लाइ नीज पुजाहारि जीम्मा वुझाइ दिनु—

१२६. काठको छपर स्मेत्को पलङ—	१
१२७. षोल स्मेत् को वसना—	१
१२८. षोल स्मेत्को र जाइ—	१
१२९. षोल स्मेत् को तकीया—	१
१३०. झलर स्मेत को झुल—	१

१३१. इति सम्वत १९६१ साल चैत्र ११ गते ५ सुभम्

(३गोटा टुका जोडिएको) संग्रह: छिमिधोर्जे

नाप:— ५६×२१.२ (से.मी.) विष्ट ठकुरी

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१. विन्ती पत्र चढाउन्याको
नाम. सु कागज नंवर- ७।१६८५५
२. वा लक्ष्मी प्रसाद तोक नंवर
३. ठेगाना इलाका वागलु झा झर
४. कोट. गाउं—
विन्ती पत्र

५. ईप्रान्त महाराज कुरुणा निधीन् धर्म औतार प्रभू. सरकारवाट दामोदर कुंडमा १ नरसीं

६. षोलामा १ सुष्चे षोलामा १ जंमा धर्मसाला ३ बनाई तयार गर्न मन्या थाक.

७. दान् भंसारका सुवा मंन् लाल् गुरु लाई आडर भया मुताबीक. नीज सुवाले सो

८. तिन् थाउंमा धर्मसाला वनाई तयार गरी सके पछी. सो धर्मसालाको चिताई दारी

९. काम्मा नीज सुवा मन्लाल् गुरु ले. षमजु सुवा-लाई र मेरो दाज्यू वषतवाहादुर सुवा

१०. लाई नियेत् गरी. दिदा हाल मेरो दाज्यू वषत वाहादुर सुवा र षमजु सुवा स्मेत पर्लोंग मंग

११. यातापनि. मेरो दाज्यू सुवा वषतवाहादुर सुवा षमजु हरूले जुन् हीसाव संग. सो धर्म

१२. सालाको हीफाजत् गरी आयाको थीयो. सो वमो-जिम् गरी हिफाजत्. गरी आज संम.

१३. सो धर्मसालामा केही नोक्सान् नभयाकोमा. हाल झाल्कोट्. वस्न्या ज्याव्यां भन्याले

१४. सर्कारमा आई. सो धर्म सालको हिफाजत् गर्न कसैले गरेन भन्या ईत्यादीको व्यहोराको झुठाकु

१५. रा सर्कारमा विन्ती पारी उसो भया सो धर्मसाला तिनैं ठाउंको चिताईदारी तिमी भैंस.

१६. भन्या वेहोराको तोक गरायछ भन्या समाचारमा. सर्कारमा झिजो विन्ती चढाउंनु आया

१७. को छु प्रभू. सो तिनै वटा धर्मसाला. सावुद रहेछ र सावीक् चीताईदार षमजु सुवा.

१८. वषतवाहादुर सुवाको भाई छोराहरू. ले हेर विचार गरेको रहेछ भन्या. ज्यान्यांको विन्ती

१९. पत्र वातिल् गरी. सो धर्म सालाको चिताइदारी कांम् सावीक् चिताइदारको भाई छोरा

२०. हरूलाई. सो चीताईदारी काम् को षान्नी वान्नी थांमी दिनु भन्या. दान् भन्सारको

२१. नाउंमा सनद गरी. पठाइदिनु भन्या जैसी कोठा अडार. को नाउंमा प्रमान्गी गरी वक्सु

२२. प्रभू जो हुकु—

इति सदा सेवक ईलाका वागलु झारकोट् गाउं वस्न्या लक्ष्मी प्रसाद सुवाको दिनप्रती कुर्नेस् कुर्नेस्—

इती सम्वत. १९७० साल फागुण गते शुभम्—

मुक्तिनाथ मन्दिर ट्रस्ट कार्यालय

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१. स्वस्ति श्रीमच्चैतरिया केसरिजं पराक्रम साहकस्य पत्रम्—

२. आगे डीठा भुंगेल वीष्ट मर्दा नीजको वारेसभै काम गर्ने इयाम्या वीष्टके यथो

३. चीत उप्रान्त ···१··· का उपल्ला पौवाका सदावर्त गुठीको अमानत् काम ७१ सा

४. लेका वालीलाई तलाई षारेजगरी झारकोट गाउं वस्न्या लक्ष्मीप्रसाद

५. वीष्टलाई भर्ना गरी वक्स्याको छ ···१··· का सदावर्त गुठीको उपल्ला पौवा

६. को तैंले वुझाउनु पर्ने सो पौवामा दरीयाको दोवा गाउ १ को लागत् र सदा

७. वर्त चलाउनाके सावीक दी आया वमोजीम्को नगद् जीन्सी कागज पत्र

८. भाडा वर्तन स्मेत् जो जो छ गैंह्र नीज लक्ष्मीप्रसाद वीष्टलाई वुझाइ

९. भर्पाइ लीन्या काम गर. इती सम्वत् १९७० साल चैत्र ७ गते ६—

१०. शुभम् ○ छाप ○ छाप

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श्री मुक्तिनाथ १ श्री लक्ष्मी नारायण २

१. स्वस्ति श्री म.च्चौतरिया केसरि जङ्ग पराक्रम साह कस्य पत्रम् —

२. आगे झारकोट गाउ वस्न्या लक्ष्मी प्रसाद वीष्ट के. हाम्रा सर्वाङ्ग माफीक् वीत्तलप · १ ·· प्रीती गरी सदावर्त

३. नीमीत्त गुठी राषी वक्स्याको ··· १ ··· का उपल्ला पौवामा दरियाको दोवा गाउ १ को कामकाज गर्ने

४. सावीकवाला अंगेल दिष्ट मर्दा नीजको वारेस भै. काम गर्ने नीजका भाई इयाम्या वीष्टलाई

५. षारेज गरी नीजको वदलामा तलाई भर्ना गरी वक्स्याको छ ···१··· का उपल्ला पौवाको इस्तक

६. सम्वत् १९७१ साल वैसाष १ गते देषी चैत्रका मसान्ततक् वर्ष १ का वालीलाई अमानत वमोजी

७. म्को पट्टा गरी वक्स्यौं जगामागै रस्ती चलाई वस्ती वसाई गाउघर अवाद गुल्जार गरी रैंती

८. राषी उपल्ला पौवामा दरीयाको दोवा गाउं १ को लगायात् स्मेत्को सेर्मा साउन्या फागुपा

९. को गैंह्र रकम् कलम् वीह्रौटा वीह्रौटी षेत्को वाली स्मेत् ५१ सालका जाँचको रपो (ट)

१०. बढेको वढ भया वढ् स्मेत्को सावीकवालासँग लगत ली सो लगत वमोजीम् सावीक दे

११. षी दरि चली आया वमोजिम् असुल तहसील गरी आम्दानी डंड कुड मन्यो अपुताली चा

१२. क चकुई ठेकी भेटी स्मेत् गैंह्र अमानती तहसील गरी स्याहा दर्नु तल्ला पौवावाट आया

१३. को जीन्सी गैंह्र वुझी ली रसीद गरी दीनु सो वुझी लीयाका जीन्सी आम्दानी वाधनु अस्मानी

१४. डंड कुड गर्दा अैन वमोजिम गर्नु अैनमा वीत्यास् पारी. वेजाइ वीदुत् नगर्नु वेजाइ वीदु

१५. त् गर्न्या भनी कोही रैती दुनीयाहरू कराउन आयो भन्या र. अैनमा वीत्यास पारि काम

१६. गरेको ठहर्‍यो भन्या तैंले गरेको वजाई वीदुत् त आफैंले वुझाउनु पर्ला तैंले.....

१७. अस्मानी डंड कुड मध्ये ६ षन्डको ५ षन्ड स्याहा दर्नु १ षन्ड तैंले खानु सावीक् वाला

१८. अमालीहरूले रकं कलं दवाई छपाई राप्येको रहेछ भन्या पनी षोजी लगत् कसी हा

१९. भ्रा हजुरमा जाहेर गरी पठाउनु औ ···१··· को दर्सन गर्न आउन्या जोगी सन्यासी फकीर

२०. फकेरा तीर्थवासी गरीप जो कोही जात्रुहरूलाई दात्र पत्रमा दरीया वमोजीमको... ...

२१. ल वमोजीमका दर्ले सदावर्त षान्छु भन्या जात्रु गैंह्र-लाई सदावर्त वार्दा ···१··· का नी

२२. त्ये पुजा गर्न्या पुजाहारी ब्राम्हणलाई र ...१...को उपल्ला पौवाली लाई स्मेत् (साछी)

२३. राषी रोज रोज आयाका सीधा पाने येती येती जवान मन्या नीज साछीहरूको

२४. सही छाप गराई राषनु साछीको स्ही छाप नपऱ्याको सीधा षर्च लेषेकोमा पछि मीन्हा

२५. पाउने छैन उपल्ला पौवाको कामदार कारीन्दालाई तपसीलमा लेषीया वमोजिम्

२६. को जागीर सीधा समेत् दी भर्पाई गरी लीनु तलाइ वक्स्याको तपसील वमोजीम्को

२७. षांगी तैले षानु तपसीलमा लेषीया वमोजीम्को षर्च गरी वाकी रहयाको जीन्सी

२८. वीक्री गरी स्याहा दर्नु सो वाकी रहयाको जीन्सी विक्री गर्दा गाउका मुषीया भलाद्मी

२९. साछी राषी गाउ षोलामा चलेका दर्भाउमा सो साछी वस्ने मानिसहरूको मुचुल्का

३०. गराइ मुचुल्का वमोजीम विक्री गरी नगदी स्याहा दर्नु सदावर्तलाई चाहीन्या (जीं)

३१. सी षरीद गर्दा जु जु मैन्हामा जे जे माल किफायत् साथ पाइन्छ उमै उसै वषत्मा षरी

३२. द् गर्नु सो षरीद गर्दा पनी गाउका तालुकदार भलादमी पौवाली पुजाहारी सा

३३. छी राषी नीजहरूको मुचुलका गराइ ली सो मुचुलका वमोजीम् षरीद गर्नु सो नग

३४. री षरीद गरीस् भन्ये मीन्हा पाउने छैन साल १ को असल काठे न्याउरी मुसा २ अस

३५. ल. चोथो ठुलो कस्तुरी विनायक् सलामी चढाउनु सो न्याउरी मुसा र कस्तुरी वीनायक् चढाउ

३६. नु. सकीनस् भन्य न्याउरी मुसा २ के दर मोहर रू १०। ले मोहरु २०।र. कस्तुरी विनायक

३७. के मोहरू २५। स्मेत् नगदी वुझाउनु सो सदावर्त बाँडेकौ रोज रोजको आम्दानी वाँदको

३८. रोज रोजको झाडो स्याहा लेषी सीधा पाने जोगी संन्यासी गैह्र जातुको नाउ नमेसी समे–

३९. तको छुट्टा–छुट्टै हाजीर फर्द लेषी सोही हाजीरी फर्दका मीती मी ीमा पौवाली पुजाहा

४०. रीको स्ही छाप गराउनु साल आषीर भयापछि आम्दानी षर्चको स्याहा ढपोड् षडा गरी

४१. साल तमाम भयाका ४ मैन्हा भीत्र हाम्रा वहि ुइने अडामा दाषील गरी वही वुझाई

४२. फारषती लीनु साल. तमाम्.का ४ मैन्हा भीत्र स्याहा धपोड तयार गरी दाषील गरे

४३. न भन्या ग्रैन वमोजीम् वुझाउनु पर्ला सो सदावर्तमा षर्च गरी वाकी रहेको .. ... सा

४४. छी भयेतापनी जगेरा चैत्र मैन्हामै वुझाउनु पट्टामा लेषीया वाहेक नगरी नहुन्या (काममा)

४५. गर्नु पऱ्यो भन्या हाम्रा हजुरमा साधी जवाफ वक्स्या वमोजीम् गर्नु हाम्रा हजुर सा-

४६. धी पट्टामा लेषीया मन्दा वढी षर्च गरेकोमा मीन्हा पाउने छैन पौवा देवधारा भत्के

४७. वीग्रेकोमा मनासीव माफीकको षर्च लगाई गाउका तालुकदार भलाद्मी पौवा

४८. ली पुजाहारी स्मेत् साछी राषी मात्र वनाउनु सो साछी वसनेको र लीलाम.....

४९. छाप पऱ्याको कागज वमोजीम् मीन्हा हुंला पैवा सफा सुघर राषनु.....

५०. का सवै सावुद वनाइ राषनु हर्साल छानामा पानी नचुहुने गरी साल वसाल

५१. छापनु सो पौवामा मर्मत नगरी पानी चुहीयो भन्ये पौवालीको जागीर मीन्हा

५२. पाउँदैन पैवामा घोडा गधा कुषुरा केही राषन नदीनु लोभानी पापानी गरी ध

५३. र्म नस्त गरी नषानु सो नाफा षायाको ठहऱ्यो भन्या ग्रैन वमोजीम् सजाय भै काम् वाट

५४. स्मेत् षारेज गरी वक्सौला औ ...१... का तुक्चे गुम्वाको स्मेत् २ गुम्बाको धमाल आसा

५५. मी लगा जमीन सनद कागज पत्र भाडा वर्तन् स्मेत् गैह्र मेरा जीम्माको यत्तीकै हो यो

५६. देषी घती वढी अरू मसीत केही छैन हालवालालाई नवुझाइ दवाई राषेको ठहऱ्यो

५७. भन्या ग्रैन वमोजीम् वुझाउला भन्या जो चाहिन्या वेहोराको सावीक्वालाको अर्कगा ली

५८. पाई ली सो अर्कण वमोजीमको माल सावुद बुझी ली रसीद गरी दिनु आ सके

५९. सम्म ४ चक्री ···२··· र नसके असल असल सालीक्राम १० वटा मंजुर हुने वमोजीम्

६०. को ल्याइ चढाउला सो लेखीयाका सालीक्ग्राम तक्याउन सकिनस् र हाम्रा

६१. मंजुर भयेन भने मोहरू येक सये रुपैआं चढाउनु भनी ···१··· का उपल्ला पौवाको

६२. अनातती काजकाम् गर्नु भनी १ साला पट्टा गरी वक्स्यौं अफ्ना षातीर जामा (स)

६३. य ···१··· को सोझो चीताई इमान् धर्म सम्झी अमानती काम गर्न्या काम गर—

तपसील

६४. आम्दानी तल्ला पौवावाट चलान् भै जान्या—

६५. फलुवा चावल मुरी १२१। मध्ये— १२०।—

६६. दालके मास मुरी— १७।१०

६७. वेसार पाथी— ।५

६८. फलुवाचावल मुरी १२१। मध्ये सरीले नुन मुरी— १।

६९. धान्— ९९।१३

७०. घ्यू दोवा साउको आम्दानीवाट मोहरु ।५० को धार्नी १८ का दर्ले घ्यू धार्नी

७१. ४०८ र नघुमेको जो चाहीन्या स्मेत्—

७२. षर्च—

७३. नीत्य पुजाके चैत्र सुदी ९ रोज रामनवमी देषी कार्तीक सुदी १५ रोज तक मैन्हा

७४. ७ दीन ७ के ६१ साल चैत्र ११ गते ४ मा भयाका सनद वमोजीम्को मोरु ३५।६६।१

७५. ऐके अक्षयता चावल— ।५।३।४

७६. नीत्य पुजा र चौवासा पाठ गर्ने ब्राम्हणके ऐ सनद वमोजीम्को मो रु— ७८।६६

७७. मंदीरमा चौवासा पाठ गर्ने ब्राम्हण के सावीक वमोजीम् २० गंडी रु

७८. ४२। के २५ गंडीले मोरु— ३३।६६

७९. वषु दोवा पाषीके ऐ सनद वमोजीम् मोहरु— ८।

८०. नीत्य पुजा गर्दा लाउने धोती २ के मोरु— २।

८१. नीत्ये पुजा गर्ने ब्राम्हणके जागीर के रु— ३५।

८२. पुजाहारी ब्राम्हण के ६१ साल चैत्र ११ गतेका सनद वमोजीम् सीधा—

८३. चावल— २।१४।४ वेसार— ।१७।२।

८४. दाल— ।१२।४।५ घ्यू— १६२।।३।

८५. नुन— ।१।२।८ × × ×

८६. पुजा सुसारेके सीधा सरजाम पुजाहारीके ऐ ऐ वमोजीम् मदर—

८७. ···१··· का पौवामा हीउ फाल्न्याके जागीर मोहरु— ३।

८८. डीठा १ के वर्ष १ को जागीर धान मुरी— ५१।

८९. पौवाली वहिदारके ऐ ऐ धान मुरी— ३०।

९०. पौवालीके— १५। वहीदारके— १५।

९१. पौवाली वेदार जना २ के सीधा—

९२. दीन १ को जना १ के चावल माना ।।२ दाल मुठी ।।।२ नुन मुठी आ

९३. धा ।।।।।। वेसार दीन ३० को माना ।।१ घ्यू तोला २ का दर्ले ज

९४. ना २ के वर्ष १ को दीनु पर्न्या दीनु—

९५. दारुवा वोक्ने जना २ के—

९६. वर्ष १ को जागीर धान मुरी ९।६।४ ले जना २ के धान— १८।१३

९७. ऐ के सीधा चैत्र सुदी ९ रोज देषी कार्तीक सुदी १५ रोज तक रो

९८. ज १ को जना १ के चावल माना ।।२ दाल मुठी ।।।२ नुन मुठी आ

९९. धा ।।।।।। का हीसावले जना २ के सीधा दीनु—

१००. इती सम्वत् १९७० साल चैत्र ७ गते छ शुभं

छाप छाप

परिशिष्ट ८

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१

१. स्वस्ति श्री मक्चौतरिया केशरि

२. जङ्गपराक्रम साहबाट डिठ्ठा लक्ष्मी प्रसाद वीष्टके यथोचीत्

३. उप्रान्त तैले भाद्र १६ गते ३ मा चढाई पठायाको वीन्ती. पत्र आई

४. पुगी कीस्तार. जाहेर भयो. उपल्ला पौवाका इलाका मीत्रको रुषहरु

५. ढले परे सुकेका काटी ल्याई. साधु सन्तलाई धुनी भात पकाउन ला

६. ई दीनु पर्ने. हुनाले यो भाद्र १ गतेमा. ठुलो हावा आई ढलेको रुष ३

७. लीन पठाउदा. साङ्दोको माहिलो छोरा लामाले जवरजस्ती गरी ल

८. गी दीयेन भनी लेषेका लाइ. त तेस्पौवाको हाकीं मै. सो पौवा इ

९. लाका को रुषहरु ढले परेको सावीक् दर्षावीक् देषी पौवामा ल्या

१०. ई जोगर्नु पर्ने षर्च गर्नु पर्ने हो भने. सो वमोजीं आफुले नल्याई

११. जवरजस्ती गरी लग्याको हो भने लैजाने लाइ वीगो डंड स्मेत् गर्नु

१२. पर्ने सो वमोजीं गर्ने. तागत्. तेरो छैनस् भने ··· १ ··· वाट राषेका

१३. अडा. अदालत्मा नालेस्दी सो रुष लैजानेलाई डंड वीगो गरा

१४. उन. नसकी जाहेर गरी पठायाको देषदा त नादानी रहेछस् भं

१५. न्ये वुझी वक्से लेषीया वमोजीं आफ्नु हक पुग्ने रुष जवरजस्ती

१६. गरी लैजाने लाइ. तेरो तागत् छ भने तैले पक्की वीगोर डंड गरी

१७. ली स्याहामा आम्दानी वाधनु सक्दैनस् भने ··· १ ··· वाट राषी व

१८. क्सेका अडा. अदालत्मा नालेस्दी वीगो डंड उपर गरीनस् भ

१९. ने. सो वीगो डंड. तैलाई जरीवाना. मै आउने छ इती सम्वत् १९७१

२०. साल. आस्वीं १ गते ५ शुभम्—

पाँच रुक्काको आधारमा माहिला नानी साहेबको स्थिति परिचय

—सुशीला मानन्धर

यस लेखको आधार पाँच रुक्का पत्रहरू नेपाल र एशियाली अनुसन्धन केन्द्र (त्रि. वि. कीर्तिपुर) को पुस्तकालयमा सङ्कलित रहेका छन्। यी अभिलेखहरूलाई क्रमशः एउटा ४४४., दुई वटालाई ४५२ र बाँकी दुईवटालाई ४५५ गरी तीन वेग्लावेग्लै संकेत नम्बरहरू दिइएका छन्। यी संकेत नम्बरहरू विषयानुगत, वर्णानुक्रम वा प्राचीनतानुक्रम कुनै पनि आधारमा दिइएको छैन। विषय वा वर्णानुक्रमानुसार नम्बर दिइएको भए यी पाँचै वटा अभिलेखहरूको एकै नम्बर राखे पुग्छ किनकि रुक्काहरू वाली उठाउने विषयको भई एकै शब्दबाट शुरु भएका छन्। प्राचीनतानुक्रमलाई हेर्ने हो भने वि. सं. १८९१ को अभिलेखमा ४५२ नम्बर (अभिलेख नं. ४ र ५) दिइएको छ भने वि. सं. १८७५ को अभिलेखमा ४५५ नं. (अभिलेख नं.२ र ३) दिइएका छन्। यसरी यी अभिलेखहरूमा संकेत नम्बर दिंदा कुनै निश्चित नियम अपनाइएको देखिदैन। परिणामतः अध्ययन अनुसन्धानमा जटिलता आउनु स्वाभाविक छ। यी अप्रकाशित अभिलेखहरूको माध्यमबाट तत्कालीन राजनीतिक, प्रशासकिक, सामाजिक, एवं आर्थिक गतिविधिबारे केही नौलो प्रकाश छर्न सकिन्छ।

यी अभिलेखहरूमध्ये तीन अभिलेखहरूका किनारा भाग कीराले वा चिसोले खाएर नष्ट भई केही अक्षरहरू पढ्न नसकिने अवस्थामा रहेका छन्। तर पनि अन्य पढ्न सकिने पूर्ण अभिलेखको अध्ययनबाट यहाँ लोप भइसकेका केही अक्षर, शब्द र अङ्कहरू अनुमान गर्न सकिन्छ। यसकारण मूल पाठमा च्यातिएको संकेतका साथ अनुमान गर्न सकिए जति अक्षरहरू कोष्ठभित्र उल्लेख गर्दै अभिलेखलाई वास्तविक रूप दिने प्रयास गरी यी पाँचै अभिलेखहरूलाई प्राचीनतानुक्रममा संकेताङ्क दिई प्रस्तुत गर्दैछु।

अभिलेख नं १ (छाप सहितको अभिलेख)

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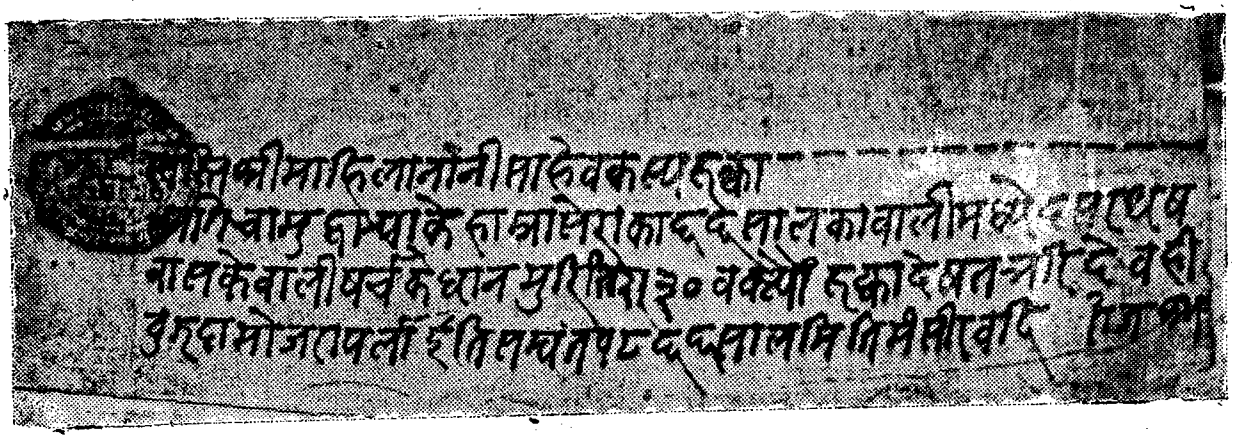
छाप स्वस्ति श्री माहिला नानी साहेव कस्य रुक्का— — आगे चामु द्वारेके हाम्रा सेराका ६६ सालका वाली मध्ये दसरथ षवासके वाली षर्च के धान मुरि तिस ३० वक्स्यौं रुक्का देषत भरिदे वही वुझदा मोजरा पर्ला ईति सम्वत १८६६ साल मिति मंसीर वदि रोज शुभम्—

अभिलेख नं. २

CNAS No. 455

श्री

स्वस्ति श्री मन्माहिला नानीसाहेव कस्य रुक्का—



अभिलेख नं. १

माहिला नानी साहेबको छाप सहितको रुक्का

– (आ) * गे दाषिला आम्दानि मध्येस हाम्रा गाउले चौरी –
– –को चौहत्र सालका आम्दानी मध्ये– –
– अ –रुद्रनारायेन उपाध्याय हस्ते नीज पटना रुपैया
–स ये ऐक १०० हाम्रा हजुरमा दाषिला भयो तस्को क– (वु)
– (ल) गरिवक्स्यौं वहि वुझदा मोजरा पर्ला इति संवत १ – – –
– – (साल) मिति माघ सुदि ३ रोज ५ शुभम्—

अभिलेख नं. ३ CNAS No. 455

श्री

–––(स्वस्ति) श्री मन्माहिला नानीसाहेव कस्य रुक्का–
– – – (आगे दा) षिला आम्दानि प्रगना महुतरी मध्ये मौजे – –
– – गैन्ह मौजे ५ का ६७ सालका इजाराका मुहुडा–––
– (म) ध्ये आयाको मार्फत षेलपतियादे हस्ते प्राप्त– –
– – पटना ज्मा रुपया तीन सये ३०० हाम्रा हजुर– (मा) – – (दाषि)
– – (ल म) यो तस्को कवल गरिवक्स्यौं ७६ सालका– (व)
– (हि) वुझदा मोजरा पर्ला इति संवत १८७५ साल मिति
– (मा) घ सुदि ४. रोज ६ शुभम्—

अभिलेख नं. ४ CNAS No. 452

श्री

स्वस्ति श्री माहिलि नानिसाहेव कस्य रुक्का–
आगे फौजदार अमोलि पाडेके जेल्लै महुतरि मध्ये
भागाउं मौजे वन चौरि गैन्ह ज्मा मौजे ७ का संवत १८९१ साल वैसाष वदि १. रोज सौ लगाईत चैत्र सुदि १५. रोज तक वर्ष १. को ठिका वमोजिम पट्टा कवुलिअ ति दाम दामक वुझिलिजु वासिल वाकि फाटक गरि वक्स्यौं इति संवत १८९१ साल मिति फागुन सु दि रोज २ सुभम्—

अभिलेख नं. ५ CNAS No. 544

श्री

स्वस्ति श्री मन्माहीलि नानीसाहेव कस्ये रुक्का—
आगे फौजदार अमोलि पाद्यके जिल्लै मंहुतरि मध्ये
हाम्रा ग– – –
नषौरी १ मौजेको वदेया १ मौजे हिर्दुवा १ मौजे वगेआको झुप्रा
दि १. मौजेको झुप्रा १ मौजे इकरहिया १ मौजे भुतहि वदेसव
१ ज्मा मौजे ७ का सम्वत १८९१ साल वैसाष वदि १ रोज सौ लगाई
त चैत्र सुदि १५ रोज तक ठिकाका वमोजिम पट्टा कवुलिअत दा
म दामक वुझिलिजु वासिल वाकि फाटक गरिवक्स्यौं—

आसामि —	रुपैं–(आ)
ज्मा रूपैञ्चा वमोजिम पट्टा –	३२५१.
असुल हाम्रा हजुर दाषिल रुपैञा –	२३०१.
कार्तिक सुदि ४. रोज –	१३०१.
पौष सुदि १२. रोज –	१०००.
वाकी — —	९५–(०)
हाम्रा हजुर दाषिल संवत सदर मिति फागुन सुदि ९ रोज ५. रु –	५००.
वाकी—	४–(५०).
मिनाहा जर्ता—	१००.
बाकी—	३५०.
असुल हजुर दाषिल संवत सर मिति चैत्र वदि ९ रोज रुपैया –	३५०.
वाकी –	० फारक

सम्वत १८९१ मिति चैत्र वदि ९ रोज २ शुभम्—

* च्यातिएर पढ्न नसकेको अक्षरको संकेत– – – – र ( ) कोष्ठभित्र सो खाली स्थानमा हुनु पर्ने अक्षर र अङ्क उल्लेख गरिएको छ।

पुनश्चः- यस लेखमा प्रस्तुत अन्य अभिलेखहरुमा पनि यस्तै प्रकारको संकेत र अनुमानित अक्षर दिइएको छ। —ले.

माथि उल्लिखित ५ रुक्का पत्रहरू माहिला नानी साहेबले महोत्तरी जिल्लाको विभिन्न गाउँका फौजदार, द्वारे आदिका नाममा जाहेर गरेका आदेशहरू हुन् । यी रुक्काहरूमा दशरथ षवासलाई खर्च स्वरूप ३० मुरी धान प्रदान गर्नु भनी द्वारेलाई दिएको आदेश (अ. नं.१), बाली बुताउँदा आंशिक मिनाहा दिने आदेश र बाली बुझिलिएका कुराहरू उल्लेख छन् । यी ५ अभिलेखहरूमध्ये ३ अभिलेखहरूमा उल्लेख छ "··· वही वुझदा मोजरा पर्ला···" अर्थात् आंशिक मिनाहा दिइने छ (अ. नं. १, २ र ३) । यसबाट बुझिन्छ कि आदेश जाहेर गर्ने व्यक्ति सो बालिका सर्वाधिकार सम्पन्न व्यक्ति हुन् । यस अभिलेखबाट उनीमा कर माफी गर्ने हक रहेको छ भन्ने प्रष्ट हुन्छ । अभिलेखमा "श्री मन्माहिला नानीसाहेव" भनी बडो सम्मान र आदरपूर्वक दर्जाको उल्लेख गरिएको छ । यसबाट नानी साहेब राजाका द्वितीय भित्रिनी (रखौटी) थिए तापनि तत्कालीन समाजमा उनी एक प्रतिष्ठित व्यक्तिको रूपमा रहेका थिए भन्ने कुरा स्पष्ट हुन्छ ।

साथै (Seal) छाप सहितको रुक्का (आदेश) जारी गर्ने अधिकार प्राप्त भएबाट उनी राजनीतिक एवं प्रशासनिक क्षेत्रमा उच्च ओहदा प्राप्त नारीको रूपमा देखा पर्दछन् । किनकि त्यस समयमा रुक्का राजा वा राजाको नायव भई कार्यभार सम्हाल्ने सर्वोच्च शक्तिको आदेशको रूपमा लिइन्थ्यो । समकालीन अन्य चिट्ठी, आदेश, रुक्का, अर्जि, सनद, पूर्जी आदिको अध्ययन गरी हेर्दा राजा र नायव बाहेक चौतरिया, मुख्तियार, जनरल, काजी आदि जस्ता उच्च ओहदामा पुगेका व्यक्तिहरूले समेत रुक्का आदेश दिने गरेको पाईंदैन । यस्ता उच्च, प्रतिष्ठित र शक्तिशाली प्रशासनिक व्यक्तिहरूले दिएका आदेश वा सुझाव पत्रहरूमा "कस्य पत्रम्" मात्र उल्लेख गरेका पाइन्छन् भने सोही विषय वस्तुमा राजा र नायवको आदेश भए "कस्य रुक्का" लेखिएको हुन्छ (योगी, २०२२, काठमाडौं, पृ. ३१, ३८, २०० आदि) । राणा शासनकालमा आएर प्रधानमन्त्री वा श्री ३ महाराजसम्मले रुक्का (आदेश) दिने गरेको पाइन्छ । प्रधानमन्त्रीले कुनै विषयमा दिएको आदेशमा "कस्य रुक्का" र सोही विषय कम्यांण्डर इन चीफले आदेश दिए "कस्य पत्रम्" लेखी जाहेर गरेका हुन्छन् । (योगी, पृ. २३२, ३०५, ३२२, ४३७, ५०३ आदि) । यसरी एकै आदेश पत्रमा दुई अधिकारीको कस्य रुक्का र कस्य पत्रम् उल्लेख गरिएबाट प्रधानमन्त्रीको आदेश (रुक्का) अनुसार कम्याण्डर इन चीफले आफ्नो तर्फबाट पत्रादेशको (पत्रम्) रूपमा जनता समक्ष जाहेर गरेका अर्थमा लिन सकिन्छ । यी आदेश पत्रहरूबाट स्पष्ट हुन्छ कि रुक्का प्रदान गर्ने हक प्रधानमन्त्रीभन्दा तल्लो तहका कर्मचारीलाई थिएन । यसरी यी पाँच रुक्काहरू प्राप्त भएबाट उनी भित्रिनी नै भए पनि उनको दर्जा राजनीतिक एवं प्रशासनिक क्षेत्रमा उच्च रहेको प्रमाणित हुन्छ । बाली उठाइएको र मिनाहा दिएका आदेश पत्रहरूबाट उनी आर्थिक प्रशासनका उच्च अधिकारी रहेको अनुमान गर्न सकिन्छ ।

यदि बाली उठाइएका क्षेत्र उनको निजी वित्त भए उनी आर्थिक दृष्टिबाट निकै सम्पन्न रहेको प्रतीत हुन्छ । किनकि उनले बाली उठाइएका (महोत्तरी जिल्ला) क्षेत्रहरूको उत्पादन क्षमता निकै राम्रो [Regmi, (M. C., Land ..) P. 110, Table No. 36] रहेको देखिन्छ । अर्कोतर्फ वित्तीयक्षेत्रहरूको आफ्नो वित्त भित्रका अन्य आम्दानी, स्थानीय जनता माथिको नियन्त्रण, विविध कर उठाउने हक, न्याय प्रशासन माथिको अधिपत्य आदि [Regmi, (A Studv...), 1972, New Delhi; pp. 40–41] ले गर्दा उनको वर्षेनी थुप्रै आम्दानी हुने गरेको बुझिन्छ । यी ५ अभिलेखहरूमध्ये द्वारेलाई दिएको आदेशमा ६६ सालको बालीबाट ३० मुरी धान खर्च स्वरूप दिनु, बाली बुझ्दा सो मिनाहा गरिन्छ भन्ने (अ. नं. १) छ भने अ.नं. २ मा पटना रु. १००।- र अ. नं. ३ मा पटना रु. ३००।- बुझिलिएको र बाली बुझाउँदा आंशिक छूट दिने आदेश दिएको पाइन्छ । रुक्का नं. ५ मा लेखिए अनुसार १८९१ सालको वार्षिक बाली स्वरूप ३२५११- आम्दानी हुने र त्यसमध्ये रु. १००।- मिनाहा दिएको स्पष्ट हुन्छ । रुक्का नं. ४ मा भने मिनाहासम्बन्धी केही कुरा उल्लेख छैन, केवल ठेक्का बमोजिम बाली बुझिलिई कागज फाटी पठायौं भन्ने कुरा लेखिएका छन् । यसबाट थाहा हुन्छ कि

फौजदार अमोली पाण्डेको (अ. नं. ४ र ५ दुवै पाण्डेको नाममा जाहेर भएको रूक्का हुन्) । नाममा मात्र दुई वेग्लावेग्लै ठेक्का दिएका छन् । यसरी यी क्षेत्रबाट मात्र वर्षेनी २३५१।- रु.भन्दा बढी आम्दानी हुने बुझिन्छ । तर यी क्षेत्रहरू उनको निजी वित्त होइन भन्ने देखिन्छ। किनकि निजी वित्त वा गुठी जग्गा भएको भए वित्तवाल स्वयंले बाली उठाउन जाने गर्छ [Regmi, (A Study...) p. 126]। जग्गा धनी आफैं जान वसके ढोकेहरू पठाई बाली उठाउने व्यवस्था गरिन्छ । यदि जग्गा रैकर वा जागीर भएको खण्डमा बाली उठाउन स्थानीय कारिन्दाहरू नियुक्ति गरिन्थ्यो, जसले स्थानीय बाली र अन्य कर उठाउनुका साथै स्थानीय प्रशासन र न्याय व्यवस्था समेत सम्हाल्ने काम गर्छ । यस्ता व्यक्ति-हरू नियुक्ति गर्दा सैनिक र राजनीतिक दृष्टिबाट (Strategic view point) महत्व भएका क्षेत्रहरू-मा सुब्बा र सो दृष्टिबाट कम महत्वको क्षेत्रहरूमा सुवेदार वा द्वारे र पूर्वी तराईमा स्थानीय चौधरीहरू नियुक्ति गरिन्छ [Regmi, (A study...) p 126, Foot Note No. 20, pp. 127, 128) ।

माथि उल्लिखित ५ रूक्काहरूमध्ये २ वटा रूक्कामा फौजदार (अ. नं. ४ र ५), एकमा द्वारे (अ. नं. १) र एकमा इजारा (अ. नं. २) को चर्चा भएको छ जसबाट यी क्षेत्रहरू जागीर वा रैकरमध्ये एक हुने अनुमान गर्न सकिन्छ । तर रूक्का पत्रलाई राम्ररी अध्ययन गरेको खण्डमा यी जग्गाहरू रैकर र जागीर नभई "शेरा जग्गा" अर्थात् राजदरबारको संसार र आवश्यक खर्चका लागि आवश्यक रकम आपूर्ति गर्न राजदरबारको ढुकुटीमा आम्दानी दाखिला गर्ने गरी छुटचाइएको कपर्दारको निगरानीमा राखिएको भूमि [Regmi, (Land... Vol. II) pp. 275-276] हो भन्ने बुझिन्छ । अभिलेख नं. १ मा स्पष्टसंग उल्लेख नै गरिएको छ कि "... हाम्रा सेराका ६६ सालका बाली मध्य दशरथयवासके बाली षर्चके धानमुरी ३० वक्स्यौं ..." हुन त यसमा जग्गा कुन क्षेत्रको हो भन्ने लक्ष गरेको छैन तर अन्य अभिलेखहरूमा महोत्तरी जिल्ला-बाट बाली उठाएको लेखिएका छन् । महोत्तरीलाई शेरा भूमि भनेर किटान गरेको छैन तापनि यी सम्पूर्ण बाली शेरा भूमिबाट नै उठाइएको हो कि भन्ने अनुमान गर्न सकिन्छ । किनकि श्री ५ रणबहादुर शाहबाट वि. सं. १८५५ (सन् १७९८) मा महोत्तरी जिल्लामा १४ विगाहा जग्गा राजा र राजपरिवारको उपभोगको लागि (Royal use) शेरा जग्गा छुटचाइएका थिए [Regmi, (Land...), pp. 275,276] जुन क्षेत्रमा (Foreed labour) झारा प्रथा कि अधिया प्रथा (Cropsharing basis) मा खेत जोत्न लगाइन्छन्। राणा शासनकालमा आएर यस्तो भूमि शाही परिवारले भन्दा राणा परिवार अर्थात् श्री ३ महाराज परिवारले बढी उपभोग [Regmi, (Land... Vol. II) p. 276] गरेको पाइन्छ ।

पूर्वी तराईको बाली मुगल प्रथा वा नगदमा उठाउने [Regmi, 1987, (Thatched Huts...), New Delhi, p. 54, Foot Note No. 66] प्रचलन अनुसार यी अभिलेखहरूमा पनि अ. नं. २ र ३ बाली स्वरूप "पटना रुपैयाँ १००।- र ३००।-" र अ. नं. ५ मा रु. ३२५१।- बुझिलिएका छन् । यसबाट नेपालमा सरकारी लेनदेनमा नेपाली मुद्रा मात्र होइन भारतीय मुद्रा पनि चलन चल्तीमा रहेको छ भन्ने बुझिन्छ । यसको साथै के अनुमान गर्न सकिन्छ भने त्यस वेला महोत्तरी जिल्लाको उत्पादन भारतको सीमा क्षेत्रमा बिक्री गरी आर्जन गरेको रकम कर स्वरूप सरकारलाई बुझाउने गरेको हुन सक्छ । दुई वटा रूक्काहरूमा "...ठिक्का वमोजिम पट्टा कवुलिअत दामदामक बुझि-लिनु..." (अ. नं. ४ र ५) भन्ने वाक्यहरू रहेका छन् । यसबाट यी जग्गाहरूमा बाली उठाउने काम "ठेकवन्दी पंचसाला ठेक्का प्रथा" को आधारमा [Regmi, (Thatched Huts...) pp. 72-74] ठेक्कामा दिएको बुझिन्छ ।

यसरी माहिला नानी साहेब तत्कालीन दरबारी आर्थिक प्रशासनका सर्वेसर्वा व्यक्ति रहेको प्रष्ट हुन्छ । यसैले होला उनलाई "श्री मन्माहिला नानी साहेब" भनी सम्मानपूर्ण सम्बोधन गरिएको र आदेश पत्र जाहेर

गर्ने हक दिइएको। यसबाट वि. सं. १८३४ देखि १९०३ (सन् १७७८ देखि १८४६) सम्म नेपालको राजनीतिक रङ्गमञ्चमा राजा, जेठी रानी, कान्छी रानी, राजाका भाइहरू, युवराज र राजकुमारहरू संलग्न रहेको (Agarawal, 1976, New Delhi, p. 5) मात्र नभई नानी साहेवहरू समेत सहभागी रहेको प्रमाणित गर्दछ। जुन व्यक्तिले शेराको बाली सम्बन्धी कारोबार गर्ने हक प्राप्त गरेको छ अर्थात् राज्यको प्रशासन सञ्चालनार्थ गठित भारदारी सभाका छ जना व्यक्तिमध्ये पाँचौं तहका एक व्यक्ति कपर्दार जो (King's House Minister) राजदरबारका हरेक व्यवस्थाका लागि उत्तरदायी व्यक्ति र आवश्यक परेको खण्डमा सरकारी हिसाब पनि निरीक्षण (audite) गर्ने व्यक्ति हुन्छ (Agrawal, p. 6) त्यसको समेत हाकीम रहेको प्रतीत हुन्छ।

अब उनी कुन राजाका माहिला नानी साहेव अर्थात् भित्रिनी हुन् त भन्ने प्रश्न उठ्न सक्छ। यी पाँच अभिलेखहरूले वि. सं. १८६६ देखि १८९१ चैत्रसम्मको समय ओगटेको छ। यस अवधिमा राजा गीर्वाणयुद्ध विक्रम शाह [20th Nov. 1816] मा गीर्वाणयुद्ध विक्रमको मृत्यु-(Stiller. 1976, Nepal p. 106) वि. सं. १८७३ सम्म र त्यसपछि उनका छोरा राजेन्द्र विक्रम शाह वि. सं. १९०४ (May 12th 1843 मा पदच्युत- Jain. 1972, Agra, p. 87) नेपालका शासक रहेका थिए। उल्लिखित नानी साहेव यी दुई गीर्वाणयुद्ध र राजेन्द्र विक्रम शाहमध्ये कुन चाहिको हुन् त भन्ने विषयमा विचार गरी हेर्दा उनी यी दुवै राजाहरूका नानी साहेव नभई उनीहरूभन्दा अघिका राजा रणबहादुर शाहका नानी साहेव भएको अनुमान गर्न सकिन्छ। किनकि गीर्वाणयुद्ध विक्रम शाहको जन्म वि. सं. १८५४ आश्विन [(Oct. 1797 A. D)-Regmi, 1972 Calcutta: (Modern...I) p. 582] मा भएको थियो। यस अनुसार १८६६ सालमा उनी केवल १२ वर्षकी मात्र हुन्छ। १२ वर्षको उमेरमा राजाको नानी-हरू (दरबारी सुसारेहरू) त हुन्छन् तर नानी साहेव (भित्रिनी) हुन सक्छन् भन्ने कुरा जीवविज्ञानको दृष्टिकोण बाट हेर्दा अस्वाभाविक देखिन्छ। यस समयमा राजेन्द्र विक्रम शाहको जन्म भएकै थिएन। यसैले उनको नानी साहेव हुने सन्देह नै भएन। यसकारण यी नानी साहेवको अस्तित्व रणबहादुर शाहको समयदेखि नै रहेको कुरा निर्विवाद छ।

विभिन्न ऐतिहासिक स्रोतले श्री ५ रणबहादुर शाहका घरै रानीहरू र अनेकननानी साहेवहरू रहेको कुरा दर्शाउँछ। तर उनका रानीहरू र नानी साहेवहरू कति थिए र को को हुन् भन्ने विषयका विद्वानहरूबीच मतभिन्नता रहेको छ। जस्तै–भाषा वंशावली अनुसार उनका रानीहरू क्रमशः राजराजेश्वरी देवी, कान्तीवती, चन्द्रावती, श्री विजया (विद्या) लक्ष्मी, अम्बरराजेश्वरी देवी, ललित त्रिपुरा सुन्दरी देवी र पटनावाला र भादगाउँल्या नानी साहेव दुई जना गरी जम्मा ८ जना (सं. थापा, २०३०, काठमाडौं, पृ. ७) र महताव नामकी मुसलमान केटी उनका कान्छी भित्रिनी (नेपाल, २०४०, काठमाडौं, पृ. २२८–२३०) थिए। वंशावलीमा सुवर्णप्रभाको नाम उल्लेख गरेका छैनन्। नयनाथ पौडेलले यसै वंशावलीलाई स्वीकारेका छन् र सुवर्णप्रभालाई केवल रणबहादुर शाहका इच्छानुसार चल्ने 'भोग्या रानी' (रखौटी) को रूपमा (पौडेल, २०२२, काठमाडौं, पृ. ५६–५७) मात्र मानेका छन्। नेपालको राजनीतिमा करीब ३ वर्ष अर्थात् रणबहादुर शाहको १८५७ को ताम्रपत्र अनुसार राजा गीर्वाणयुद्धका नायब पदका हकदार कान्छा रानीका (नेपाली, २०२०, काठमाडौं. परिशिष्ट नं. ९, पृ. १२३-१३१) मृत्युपछि नायब भई शासन कार्यभार सम्हालिरहेका जेठा रानी राजराजेश्वरी देवी बनारसमा रहेसम्म नायब भई शासन चलाउने महारानी सुवर्ण प्रभालाई केवल रणबहादुर शाहका रखौटी मात्र मानेका छन्। यसैले यी रुक्का दिने "माहिला नानी साहेव" उनी नै हुन् कि भन्ने शङ्का उठ्न सक्छ। रणबहादुर शाहको घण्टाभिलेखमा उनलाई "भोग्या रानी" भनी लेखिएको आधारमा उनी पूर्णरानी होइनन् (इतिहास प्रकाश, २०१२, काठमाडौं, पृ. ४६) भन्ने भनाइ व्यक्त गरेका छन्। इतिहासविद् रेग्मीले पनि सुवर्णप्रभा र कान्तीवती दुवैलाई भित्रिनी मानेका छन् [Regmi, (Mod.., Vol. I), pp. 577-8] र सुवर्णप्रभालाई नायब रानीको दर्जासम्म [Regmi, (Mod.... Vol. II) p. 106] दिएका

छन् । सुवर्णप्रभा भित्रिनी थिइन् पछि मात्र उनलाई रानीको दर्जा दिएका थिए भन्ने भनाईमा नेपालले पनि सहमति जनाएका छन् (नेपाल, पृ. २३०) । अर्का थरि इतिहासकारको भनाइ अनुसार, रणबहादुर शाहका जेठी रानी गुल्मीका राजकन्या विद्यालक्ष्मी थिए जो महारानी राजराजेश्वरीको नामले प्रसिद्ध भए, माहिली रानी सुवर्णप्रभा, साहिली कान्तीवती र अन्य दुई चन्द्रावती र ललितत्रिपुरा सुन्दरी हुन् भन्ने (शर्मा, २०२७ वाराणसी, पृ. २४७) छन् । हालसम्म प्रकाशित सुवर्णप्रभाका अभिलेखहरूबाट (बज्राचार्य र श्रेष्ठ, २०३७, काठमाडौं पृ. ३२३, ३३३, ३३५, ३५२, ४२३–२४, ४५५-५६ आदि) सुवर्णप्रभा महारानी नै हुन् भित्रिनी होइनन् भन्ने प्रमाणित भइसकेका छन् ।

राजराजेश्वरी र विद्यालक्ष्मी (विजयालक्ष्मी) एकै व्यक्ति हुन् भन्ने प्रमाण "महारानी विज्यालक्ष्मी" शीर्षकले एक नेवारी लोकगीतले दिन्छ । यस गीतमा परदेशबाट (बनारस) फर्केका महारानी विजयालक्ष्मीलाई निर्वासित गरेको, उनले त्यहाँ भोग्नु परेका दुःख कष्ट, जनसम्पर्क आदिदेखि लिएर स्वामी महाराजको मृत्युपछि उनलाई काठमाडौं ल्याई सती जान बाध्य गरेको, सती जान अघि पुत्र राजा गीर्वाणयुद्धसंग भेट्ने इच्छा व्यक्त गर्दा काजी भारदारहरूले अनुमति नदिएको हुँदा विरहपूर्ण रोदनकासाथ राजालाई अंति र आशीष दिएर सती गएको करुण दृश्यको वर्णन गरेका छन् (कंसाकार, ने. सं. १०९३, काठमाडौं, पृ ७८–८०) । हुन त यो लोकगीत मात्र हो तर यस गीतमा तत्कालीन राजनीतिक परिप्रेक्षमा रहेको षडयन्त्रकारी वातावरणले गर्दा महारानी विजयारानीले भोग्नु परेका कष्ट उल्लेख गरेका छन जबकि यी सबै कुरा भोग्न परेका रानी राजराजेश्वरी देवी थिए । यसकारण गुल्मीकी राजकन्या विजयालक्ष्मी नै रानी राजराजेश्वरी बन्न पुगेका थिए र उनी विजयालक्ष्मीकै नामले लोकप्रिय रहेका थिए भन्ने बुझिन्छ । अर्कोतर्फ यी दुवै एकै व्यक्तिको नाम हुन सक्ने प्रमाण स्वरूप हालसम्म पनि शाह राजघरानामा नाम परिवर्तन गर्ने परम्परा रहिआएको कुरालाई लिन सकिन्छ । यसरी जेठी रानी राजराजेश्वरी र माहिली रानी सुवर्णप्रभा हुन् भन्ने शर्माको भनाइ ठीक देखिन्छ । यसरी सुवर्णप्रभा माहिला नानी साहेब नभई माहिला महारानी हुन् भन्ने रहेको हुनाले रुक्का उनको होइन भन्ने सिद्ध हुन्छ ।

रुक्का दिने माहिला नानी साहेब पटनावाला वा भादगाउँवाला कुन चाहिं नानी साहेब हुन् त भन्ने सन्दर्भमा केलाएर हेर्दा मने भादगाउँले वालाको रुक्का हुन सक्ने केही सम्भावना देखिन्छ । सो कुरा तथ्यकै रूपमा देखाउने कुनै दरो प्रमाण पाइएको छैन । उनका दुई भन्दा बढी नानी साहेवहरू थिए भन्ने कुरा लक्ष्मेश्वर मन्दिरस्थित १८६९ सालको लक्ष्मी देवीको शिलालेखलाई लिन सकिन्छ । यस अभिलेखमा लक्ष्मी देवीको परिचयमा लेखिएको छ कि पटना नजीक गुनिजा गाउँको काश्यप गोत्रका गणेश दत्तकी छोरी लक्ष्मी देवी भाग्यले रणबहादुर शाहकी प्यारी हुन गयो (वज्राचार्य र श्रेष्ठ, पृ. ५७०–७१, अनुवाद) । यही शिलालेखको तेह्रौं हरफमा "साहिला नानी साहेव" भनी उनको दर्जा समेत लेखेको छ (बज्राचार्य र श्रेष्ठ, पृ. ५६८) । यसरी पटनावाला साहिला नानी साहेव हुन् भन्ने प्रमाणित हुन्छ भने अर्कोतर्फ उनी बनारस जानु अघि अरू दुई नानी साहेबहरू थिए भन्ने कुरा प्रमाणित गर्छ । किनकि रणबहादुर शाह बनारसबाट फर्कंदा लक्ष्मी देवीलाई ल्याएका थिए [Regmi, (Mod ... Vol. II), 1975, Calcutta, p. 157] । यसबाट रणबहादुर शाह तीन जना भित्रिनीका साथ बनारस गएका थिए [Regmi, (Mod.... Vol. I) p. 597] भन्ने कुरा गलत साबित हुन्छ किनकि बनारसबाट ल्याएकी पटनावाली लक्ष्मी देवीलाई "साहिला नानी साहेव"को दर्जा दिएबाट उनी बनारस जानुभन्दा अघि उनका दुई जना मात्र भित्रिनी रहेका थिए भन्ने कुरा प्रमाणित हुन्छ । तर यी दुई नानी साहेवहरूमध्ये एक भादगाउँले नानी साहेव हुन् भने अर्की कहाँकी र को हुन् भन्ने प्रश्न उठ्न सक्छ जुन खोजी गर्न बाँकी नै छ । यसैले यी रुक्काहरू भादगाउँले नानी साहेवका हुन् वा अन्य कसैको भन्ने कुरा प्रमाणित गर्न कठीन छ ।

अन्य प्रमाण नभेटिएसम्म यही व्यक्ति माहिला

नानी साहेव हुन् भन्न कठीन छ तापनि रुक्काका तिथि मिति, शेरामूनिको चर्चा, रणबहादुर शाहले महोत्तरीमा शेरामूमि छुटचाइएको प्रमाण आदिबाट यी रुक्काहरू रणबहादुर शाहका माहिला नानी साहेबका हुने अनुमान गर्न सकिन्छ। ती माहिला नानी साहेब जो भए तापनि यी रुक्का पत्रहरू अध्ययन गर्दा रुक्का आदेश दिने यी माहिला नानी साहेब राजाका संभोगका रानी मात्र नभई निकै शक्तिशाली व्यक्ति रहेको दर्शाउँछ भने उनी आर्थिक दृष्टिबाट निकै सम्पन्न रहेकी मात्र नभई राजनीतिक एवं प्रशासनिक क्षेत्रमा समेत उनको अप्रत्यक्ष बोलबाला रहेको प्रमाणित गर्दछ। रुक्का प्रदान गर्नु, आफ्नो शील छाप (Seal) प्रयोग गर्नु, खर्च बक्सको हुकुम दिनु (अ. नं. ५), बाली बुझाउन लगाउन र भिनाहा दिने आदेश दिनु (अ. नं. २, ३ र ५) आदि सबै उनको आर्थिक एवं प्रशासनिक क्रियाकलापमा संलग्न रहनुका साथै सम्पन्नताका दरो प्रमाण मान्न सकिन्छ।

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प्राचीन नेपाल संख्या १०० मा प्रकाशित "चन्द्र शम्शेरको प्रधानमन्त्रित्वकालको एक सनद पत्रको आधारमा कानूनी व्यवस्थाको सन्दर्भ" को शीर्षकको मेरो लेखमा निम्न छपाइ अशुद्ध भएकोले सच्याइएको छ।—ले.

पृ.	अशुद्ध	शुद्ध
22	Gimelette, 1928	Hadgson, 1880
23	London	Landon
२३	कुनापाको	कुनथाको
26	London	Landon

प्राचीन नेपाली समाज

—डा. दिनेशचन्द्र रेग्मी

पृष्ठभूमि

प्राचीन नेपाल भन्नाले यहाँ अन्दाजी ई. सन् ४६० देखि ७५० सम्म काठमाडौं उपत्यका र वरिपरिका केही जिल्लाहरूमा आफ्नो शासनसम्बन्धी गतिविधिका लिखित प्रमाण छोडेर जाने तथा स्वयंलाई सूर्यवंशी क्षत्रिय भन्ने लिच्छवि नामले प्रसिद्ध राजवंशको राज्यकाल भन्ने जानिन्छ। स्वयं शासकहरूले र उच्च वर्गका केही सदस्यहरूले कुँदेन लगाएका यस्ता अभिलेखहरू नै तत्कालीन राजनीतिक इतिहासका झैं सामाजिक इतिहासका पनि एक मात्र विश्वसनीय स्रोत हुन्। यद्यपि यी विवेच्यकालको समाजको पूर्ण र स्पष्ट चित्र उतार्न समर्थ छैनन्। यस्तै गरी चौथौं शताब्दी ईस्वी सन्देखि संग्रह गर्न थालिएका वंशावली (पारम्परिक गाथा) हरूलाई संग्रहकालको निम्ति अपेक्षाकृत विश्वसनीय स्रोत मानिए तापनि प्राचीनकालको प्रामाणिक विवरण प्रस्तुत गर्न सक्तैनन्। तथापि यिनले लामो परम्परादेखि चलेका केही कुरालाई लिपिबद्ध गरेका छन्, जसको सर्वथा उपेक्षा गर्न सकिंदैन। विवेच्यकालका शासक र उच्च वर्ग हिन्दू समाजका आदर्शमा विश्वास गर्ने देखिएकाले कतिपय कुराको व्याख्या गर्ने क्रममा समसामयिक भारतको सामाजिक इतिहासका प्रसङ्गहरू उठाइने छन्।

वंशावलीहरू अनुसार यस क्षेत्रका आरम्भिक निवासीहरू 'गोपाल' र 'महिषपाल' वा 'आभीर' थिए। वंशावलीमा गोपालको कथा यदुवंशी श्रीकृष्णसंग सम्बन्धित देखाउन खोजिएको छ। पारम्परिक संस्कृत साहित्यमा शूद्र भनिएको आभीर जाति मूलतः विदेशी मानिन्छ र कुनै समय भारतको पश्चिमी भागमा देखा पर्छ। तर यहाँ यिनको पारस्परिक सम्बन्ध देखाउन खोज्नु उद्देश्य होइन। प्रासङ्गिक कुरा यत्ति मात्र हो, परम्पराले ईङ्गित गरे झैं यस भेकमा अन्यत्र झैं सभ्यताको थालनीको सम्बन्ध पशुपालन र आरम्भिक कृषिसंग रहनु सर्वथा स्वाभाविक थियो। वंशावलीको क्रम अनुसार गोपाल र महिषपाल (आभीर) राजवंशहरूपछि किरातहरूको शासन स्थापित भयो। वैदिक साहित्यमा सीमावर्ती पहाडी क्षेत्रमा बस्ने आर्येतर जातिहरूको सन्दर्भमा किरातको उल्लेख पाइन्छ। सामान्यतया यिनको सम्बन्ध तिब्बत—बर्मेली भाषा परिवारका बोली बोल्ने मङ्गोल्वाएड समुदायहरूसंग जोर्ने गरिन्छ। यहाँका आरम्भिक निवासीहरूमा नेग्रोएड, अष्ट्रालोएड र मङ्गोल्वाएड जातिहरूको उपस्थिति रहेको विश्वास गरिन्छ, जसको सम्बन्ध उपर्युक्त जातिहरूसंग थियो।

यिनको अतिरिक्त विवेच्यकालका अभिलेखहरूमा लिच्छवि राजवंशको साथसाथ गुप्त, वृज्जिक, मल्ल,

शाक्य र कोलियको पनि उल्लेख पाइन्छ। सामान्यतया यस राजवंशको तादात्म्य भारतको विहार राज्यको वैशालीका लिच्छवीहरूसंग गरिन्छ। वृज्जिक वा वज्जि शब्द बौद्ध साहित्यमा वैशालीका लिच्छविहरूको गणतन्त्रको र स्वयं लिच्छविहरूको पर्यायवाची शब्दको रूपमा प्रयोग भएको पाइन्छ। यस अतिरिक्त विवेच्यकालमा लिच्छविहरूकै समान महत्वाकांक्षी र शक्तिशाली रहेका भौमगुप्त, जिष्णुगुप्त आदि जस्ता गुप्तनामान्त सामन्तको उल्लेख पाइन्छ। यिनीहरू 'आभीरी' नाम वा जात भएको कुनै महिलाका सन्तान देखिएकाले इतिहासकारहरू यिनलाई पनि आभीर (गुप्त) मान्दछन्। तर शासक वर्गका प्रतिनिधित्व गर्ने यी गुप्तहरूले आफूलाई चन्द्रवंशी क्षत्रिय घोषित गरेका छन्। लिच्छविहरू झैं कोलिय मल्ल र शाक्यहरू मूलतः पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश र लुम्बिनीका नजीकका स्वतन्त्र गणतन्त्रात्मक जनजाति रहेका कुरा बौद्ध साहित्यबाट जानिन्छ। यसरी लिच्छवि लगायत यी सबै गणजातिहरू पालिप्राकृत भाषा बोल्ने र जैन वा बौद्ध धर्ममा विश्वास गर्ने गर्थे। तर विवेच्य क्षेत्रमा यी सबै राजतन्त्रका प्रबल पक्षपाती देखिन्छन्। यसो हुनुका राजनीतिक कारणहरू सम्बन्धित क्षेत्रको इतिहासबाट केलाउन सकिन्छ। राजतन्त्रात्मक राज्यहरूका आक्रमणबाट संत्रस्त भएका गण जातिहरूमध्ये लिच्छविहरूको गणतन्त्र शक्तिशाली थियो। यिनीहरूसंग वैवाहिक सम्बन्ध स्थापित गरेर प्रथम चन्द्र गुप्तले गुप्त साम्राज्यको जग बसालेको विश्वास गरिन्छ। तिनका पुत्र समुद्र गुप्तले पनि यस सम्बन्धको उल्लेख ससम्मान गरेका छन् र नेपाललाई करद राज्यहरूको सूचीमा राखेका छन्। हिन्दू धर्म, वर्ण व्यवस्थाको प्रचार, अनेक सम्प्रदायहरूको जन्म, संस्कृत भाषाको उन्नति तथा कला, वास्तुकला र मुद्रा कलामा भारतीयकरण गुप्त साम्राज्यका विशिष्ट उपलब्धि मानिन्छन्।

"नेपाल" मा लिच्छविहरूले समुद्र गुप्तको अधीन भारतीय शासकको रूपमा शासन आरम्भ गरे, अथवा अघिदेखि नै शासन कायम गरे अथवा गुप्त शासनबाट मुक्त बनाउन योगदान पुऱ्याएको कारणले राजा बन्न पुगे, यी सम्भावनाहरूमध्ये कुनै ठीक हुन सक्छ, तर यिनले आफ्नो राज्यस्थापना गर्न शाक्य, मल्ल र कोलियहरूबाट सहायता पाएका हुन सक्छन्। विशेष महत्वको कुरा त के भने यहाँको यो राजवंश भारतको गुप्त सम्राटबाट निकै प्रभावित थिए तथा भारतमा गुप्त साम्राज्यको पतनको वेलामा ई. सन् ४६४ मा यहाँ हिन्दू राजतन्त्रको प्रमाण पाइन शुरू हुन्छ, जसलाई संयोग मात्र भन्न सकिंदैन। यस कालको प्रथम अभिलेख चाँगुनारायण मन्दिरको द्वारसामुन्ने स्थापित छ। संस्कृत भाषाको यो अभिलेख विष्णुको स्तुतिबाट आरम्भ गरिएको छ र यसमा राजा मानदेवले स्वयंले क्षत्रिय भएको र तदनुरूप आचरण गरेकोमा गर्व गरेका छन् र युद्ध एवं विजयको यात्रा र ब्राम्हणहरूलाई दिएको दानको उल्लेख गरेका छन्।

समाज

यहाँका प्रारम्भिक राजाहरूमा वर्णव्यवस्थालाई आदर्श मान्ने हिन्दू सामाजिक व्यवस्था, राजतन्त्रको आदर्श अनुरूप राजनीतिक र सांस्कृतिक व्यवस्था कायम भएको तथ्यलाई समसामयिक अभिलेखहरूले इङ्गित गरेका छन्। संभवतः शरणार्थीहरूका रूपमा आएका तथा सामान्यतया क्षत्रियका रूपमा मानिएका लिच्छवि, तिनका छिमेकी, गुप्त सामन्त, वर्मा इ अन्य क्षत्रियहरू; गुरु, धार्मिक नेता तथा कर्मकाण्डीका रूपमा आएका ब्राम्हणहरू; साथै घुमी घुमी व्यापार गर्ने वणिक् (वैश्य), तिनका नायक सार्थवाहहरू उच्च वर्ण अर्थात् द्विजहरूका प्रतिनिधित्व गर्थे। यिनका साथ साथ बहुसंख्यक जनसंख्या संभवतः अघिदेखिकै गोपाल, आभीर र किरातहरूकै थियो। आर्थिक दृष्टिले कमजोर रहेका यस्ता स्थानीय जनजातिहरूमध्ये केहीलाई वर्ण व्यवस्थाभित्र शूद्रको श्रेणीमा राखिएको भएमा केही आश्चर्य छैन। शासक परिवार, सामन्त जस्ता उच्च वर्णहरूका अभिलेख पाइने भएको कारणले यी वर्णहरू बारेमा अपेक्षाकृत बढी सूचना पाइन्छन्।

तर प्रारम्भदेखि नै यहाँ निवास गर्ने जनजातिहरूको सामाजिक अध्ययनका आधार निर्बल र अपर्याप्त छ। अभिलेखहरूमा स्थानीय ग्रामवासीहरूलाई सम्बोधन गर्दा "अष्टादश प्रकृति" शब्दको उल्लेख पाइन्छ। यसको सामान्य अर्थ "अठार किसिमका जन समुदाय वा जात"

भन्ने गरिन्छ । केही अभिलेखहरूका क्षेत्रीय निवासीहरू-लाई सम्बोधन गर्दा ग्रामप्रधानको साथ साथ ब्राम्हण र चाण्डाल (शुद्र) को उल्लेख गरेपछि "अष्टादश प्रकृति सहित" भन्ने शब्दावलीको उच्चारण भएको छ । यस-बाट चार वर्णहरूको अतिरिक्त त्यतिखेर अठार प्रकृतिको उपस्थिति रहेको स्पष्ट हुन्छ । यिनमा पहिलेदेखि कै स्थानीय निवासीहरूको बहुसंख्यक थियो भन्ने अनुमान गर्नु उचित प्रतीत हुन्छ । सारांशमा आफूलाई सूर्यवंशी क्षत्रीय घोषित गर्ने हिन्दू राजवंशद्वारा शासित प्राचीन नेपाल बहुजातीय देश थियो ।

विवेच्यकालका अभिलेखहरू सामाजिक दृष्टिले महत्वपूर्ण दुई वटा कार्यालयहरूको उल्लेख गर्छन् । यिनमा एक त सम्भवतः वर्णव्यवस्थाका पक्षपातीहरूसंग सम्बन्ध राख्थ्यो, अर्को संभवतः प्राचीन जनजातिहरूको सामाजिक जीवनसंग सम्बद्ध थियो । "भट्टाधिकरण" नामक पहिलो कार्यालयको काम वर्ण व्यवस्थालाई दीगो राख्नु, वर्ण व्यवस्थामा आधारित समाजको संरचनालाई बढावा दिनु र वर्ण धर्मसङ्करताको स्थिति पैदा हुन नदिनु रहेको देखिन्छ । संस्कृतेतर भाषामा नामकरण गरिएको सामाजिक महत्वको अर्को कार्यालय "माप् चोक" संभवतः संस्कृतेतर जन समुदाय अर्थात् स्थानीय प्राचीन निवासीहरूको सामाजिक जीवनलाई नियमित गर्थ्यो । यसको नाम किरात अर्थात् तिब्बत–बर्मेली भाषा परिवार-को बोलीमा रहन गएको मानिन्छ ।

परिवार

प्राचीन ऐतिहासिक कालमा नेपाली समाज दुई प्रमुख समुदायमा विभक्त थियो भन्ने कुरा मानेर पारिवा-रिक संरचनाको कुरा उठाईदैछ । पति–पत्नी, छोरा–छोरी, भाइ–बहिनी आदि सदस्यहरूले संघटित परिवार-का आधार विवाहको माध्यमले वैध यौन-सम्बन्ध, आर्थिक शारीरिक र धार्मिक वा पारम्परिक सुरक्षा मुख्य हुन् । परिवार मानवको आश्रय-स्थल हो । आजभोलि शहर–बजारमा पतिपत्नी र सन्तानहरूको एकात्मक परिवारको संख्या बढ्दो छ । तर गाउँ घरमा अझै तीन वा बढी पुस्ताका सदस्यहरू साझा घरमा बसी एउटै भान्सामा भोजन गरी साझा सम्पत्तिको उपभोग गर्ने ठूलो 'संयुक्त परिवार" को अस्तित्व नरहेको होइन ।

हिन्दू समाजमा आरम्भदेखि नै पितृप्रधान संयुक्त परिवार आदर्श थियो र पैतृक सम्पत्ति अविभाज्य मानिन्थ्यो । कर्त्ता वा घरमूलीको मृत्यु भएमा ज्येष्ठताको क्रममा उत्तराधिकार सर्थ्यो । यसको एक मात्र उद्देश्य पितृप्रधान संयुक्त परिवारलाई दृढ बनाइराख्ने रहेको थियो । गृह्य सूत्रकारहरूले ज्येष्ठताको क्रममा उत्तरा–धिकारको व्यवस्था दिनुको साथ साथ सबै अंशियारहरूले बाबुबाट अंश पाउनु पर्ने पक्षमा पनि मत नदिएका होइनन् । पछिल्लो विकल्पको अर्थ थियो प्रत्येक छोरालाई परिवारको कर्ता मानिनु अर्थात् अनेक एकात्मक परि-वारको अस्तित्व बनाउनु । संभवतः पहिलो पल्ट यस्तो मत दिने सूत्रकार आपस्तंब थिए । यिनले छोराहरूलाई स्वयं पिताले अंशबण्डा गरिदिनुलाई उत्तम मानेका छन् । मनुले एक ठाउँमा जेठो छोराले मात्र अंश पाउनु पर्ने (९.१०४) चर्चा गरेका छन् भने अर्को ठाउँमा पिताको मृत्युपछि मात्र उसको सम्पत्तिमा दाजु भाइ सबैले बरा–बर अंशबण्डा गर्नु पर्ने दुवै पक्षमा व्यवस्था दिएका छन् । दोस्रो विकल्पको समर्थनमा मनुले छोराहरूले भिन्न भएर रहँदा धर्मको बृद्धि हुने कुरा गर्दै भिन्न हुनुलाई धर्म सङ्गत पनि मानेका छन् (९.१११) । यसको अर्थ कदा–चित् ईसवीका आरम्भिक शताब्दीहरूमा पितृप्रधान संयुक्त परिवार हिन्दू समाजमा आदर्श त थियो तर यसमा र एकात्मक परिवारको बीचमा सङ्घर्ष भने चर्कदै थियो भन्ने निस्कन्छ । बौद्ध साहित्य, रामायण, महाभारत र पुराणहरूबाट पनि यी दुई किसिमका परिवारहरूको आन्तरिक सङ्घर्षका संकेत पाइन्छन् । गुप्तकालमा पनि यस्तै स्थिति देखिन्छ ।

विवेच्य क्षेत्रबाट प्राप्त प्रमाणबाट यहाँ पनि गुप्तकालीन भारतको समान वर्णव्यवस्था लगायत हिन्दू सामाजिक मान्यता रहेको देखिएकोले प्राचीन 'नेपाल'को हिन्दू समाजमा परिवारसम्बन्धी मान्यता पनि समान रहेको अनुमान गर्न सकिन्छ । राजधानीको अतिरिक्त यहाँका विभिन्न गाउँहरूमा त्यतिखेर अष्टादश–प्रकृतिको साथ साथ ब्राम्हण परिवार तथा वार्त वा सामन्तको रूपमा क्षत्रियहरूको उपस्थितिको प्रमाणबाट यो कदाचित्

शासकहरूको सुनियोजित योजनाको परिणाम थियो कि भन्ने सम्भावना देखा पर्छ ।

विवेच्यकालका केही अभिलेखहरूमा "ग्राम कुटुम्बी" हरूलाई सम्बोधन गरिएका छन् । कुटुम्बको सामान्य अर्थ "संयुक्त परिवार" भन्ने गरिन्छ । कृषि र पशुपालनमा आधारित सामग्री समाजमा संयुक्त परिवार प्रथा रहनु स्वाभाविक हो । वर्तमान नेपालका कतिपय जनजातिहरूको सामाजिक अध्ययनबाट पनि यो बुझ्न सकिन्छ । कृषकलाई काम गर्ने हातको भइरहने खाँचो संयुक्त परिवार प्रथाबाट सरलतासंग पूरा हुन्छ । केही पहिलेसम्म नेपालमा ठूलो परिवार हुनु सम्पन्नताको चिन्ह मानिन्थ्यो । यद्यपि विवेच्यकालका अष्टादश-प्रकृतिको पारिवारिक स्वरूपबारे जानकारी दिने प्रमाणको अभाव छ तथापि तिनमा पनि संयुक्त परिवारकै चलन बढी रहेको भए आश्चर्य छैन । समाजशास्त्रीहरूको विचारमा (१) बढी सदस्यहरूको कारण ठूलो आकार, (२) सामूहिक निवास र भान्सा, (३) साझा सम्पत्ति, (४) धर्म र परम्पराको प्रधानता, (५) सामूहिकतावादी प्रकृति र (६) गूली (कुटुम्बी) को सर्वोच्च स्थान संयुक्त परिवारका मुख्य विशेषताहरू हुन् । यद्यपि प्रमाणको न्यूनताको वर्तमान स्थितिमा प्राचीन नेपालको संयुक्त परिवारमा यी विशेषताहरूको विवेचना गर्न कठिन छ ।

अभिलेखहरूका केही सन्दर्भ अनुसार सामान्यतया पैतृक सम्पत्ति अविभाज्य मानिने तर विशेष परिस्थितिमा त्यसको विभाजन पनि गरिने व्यवस्था रहेको देखिन्छ । यङ्गाल हिटीको सं. ६४ (ई. सन् ६४०) को शासकीय लेखमा विशेष निगाहसाथ भनिएको छ, "हत्या, चोरी, राजद्रोह परस्त्री संग्रह जस्ता ठूला अपराधमा दोषी ठहरिएको व्यक्तिको आफ्नो अंशको घरखेत गाईवस्तु आदि सम्पत्ति मात्र दरबार लाग्नेछ, तर त्यो अपराधीका अंशियारहरूबाट अलिकति पनि बढी जबर्दस्तीसंग लिइने छैन ।" यसको एक वर्षपछिको अर्को (भृङ्गारेश्वरको) अभिलेखमा पनि यस्तै निगाह गरिएको छ । यी दुवै ग्रामबासीहरूलाई तिनले गरेका विशेष कामले रिझिएका शासकले यस्तो निगाह गरेका थिए । यसबाट ठूला अपराधीको सम्पूर्ण परिवार सजायँको भागी बन्थ्यो तर राजाबाट निगाह प्राप्त गर्ने जस्ता विशेष परिस्थितिमा चाहिं अपराधीको व्यक्तिगत अर्थात् आफ्नै अंश मात्र सरकार लाग्थ्यो भन्ने कुराको संकेत पाइन्छ । यताबाट संयुक्त परिवारको सम्पत्ति सबै अवस्थामा विभाज्य मानिंदैनथ्यो, अर्थात् संयुक्त परिवार बनिरहन्थ्यो र केही परिस्थितिमा मात्र यो विभाज्य हुन्थ्यो अर्थात् अंसबण्डा पनि हुने गर्थ्यो भन्ने जानकारी हुन्छ । अर्को शब्दमा संयुक्त परिवार टुट्न गई व्यक्तिगत वा एकाकी परिवारको संघटनका परिस्थिति पनि आइरहन्थे भन्ने देखिन्छ । आर्थिक कारण, कलह, सदस्यहरूको बसाइँ सराइ, स्थान र पेशामा परिवार संख्यामा वृद्धि, घरमा स्थानको कमी जस्ता कारणले संयुक्त परिवारमा बीच बीचमा फाटो आइरहनु र टुट्नु स्वाभाविक थियो । तर यसबारे बढी सूचना दिने सामग्रीको अभाव छ ।

तर संयुक्त परिवारको विघटनको परिणाम सधैं एकात्मक परिवारको उत्पत्ति थियो भन्ने संभवतः मिल्दैन। ज्ञातव्य छ, मल्लकालीन नेवार समुदाय संयुक्त परिवारका विवाहित छोराहरूका पिता सदस्यहरू घर सल्लाह गरी थकालीको नेतृत्वमा अनेक संयुक्त परिवारका कर्ताको रूपमा छुट्टिन्थे । मूल संयुक्त परिवारबाट अनेक संयुक्त परिवारको जन्म हुन सक्ने मध्यकालको यो परम्परा अझै प्राचीन रहेको भएमा आश्चर्य छैन । तर पर्याप्त सामग्रीको अभावमा प्राचीन नेपालको परिवारबारे बढी कुरा जान्न सकिएको छैन ।

प्राचीन नेपाली परिवारमा मातापिता, पति, बहिनी आदि सदस्यहरूको आदर र प्रेम व्यक्त गर्नु आदर्श मानिन्थ्यो भन्ने कुरा तत्कालीन अभिलेखहरूका केही प्रसङ्गहरूबाट स्पष्ट हुन्छ । हिन्दू समाजमा प्रचलित चलन अनुसार स्त्रीले पतिसंग र विधवाले छोराहरूसंग अनुमति नलिई पैतृक सम्पत्तिबाट खर्च गर्नु निषेध छ । यस परम्पराको निर्वाह उच्च वर्गमा यहाँ पनि हुन्थ्यो भन्ने कुराको संकेत पशुपतिको एक अभिलेखमा पाइन्छ । परिवारमा महिलाको अवस्था निम्न रहेको कुराको संकेत पाइन्छन् ।

सन्दर्भ ग्रन्थ सूची

संस्कृत

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'प्राचीन नेपाल' का निमित्त प्राग्–इतिहास तथा पुरातत्त्व, लिपिविज्ञान, हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थ, मुद्राशास्त्र, अभिलेख, मानवशास्त्र, संग्रहालय तथा ललितकलासंग सम्बन्धित मौलिक रचनाको माग गरिन्छ ।

रचना संक्षिप्त तथा प्रामाणिक हुनुका साथै अद्यापि अप्रकाशित हुनु पर्दछ । तर कुनै प्रकाशित विषयका सम्बन्धमा नयाँ सिद्धान्त र प्रमाण प्रस्तुत गरिएको भए तिनको स्वागत गरिनेछ ।

रचनासंग सम्बन्धित चित्रहरू पठाउन सकिनेछ । रचना पृष्ठको अग्रभागमा मात्र लेखिएको हुनुपर्नेछ । प्रकाशित लेखहरूमा व्यक्त गरिएको भावना वा मत सम्बन्धित लेखकको हो ।

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